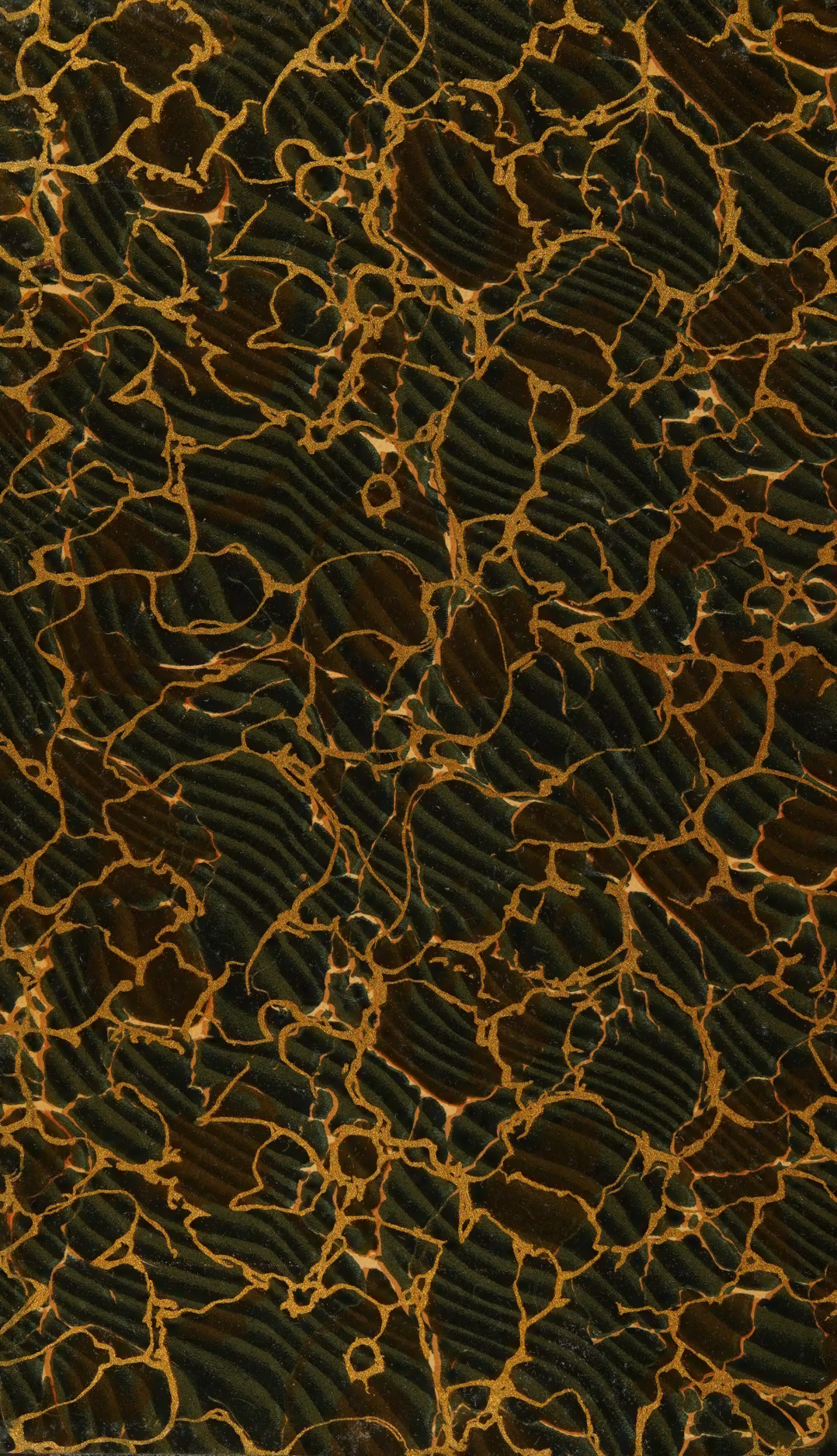

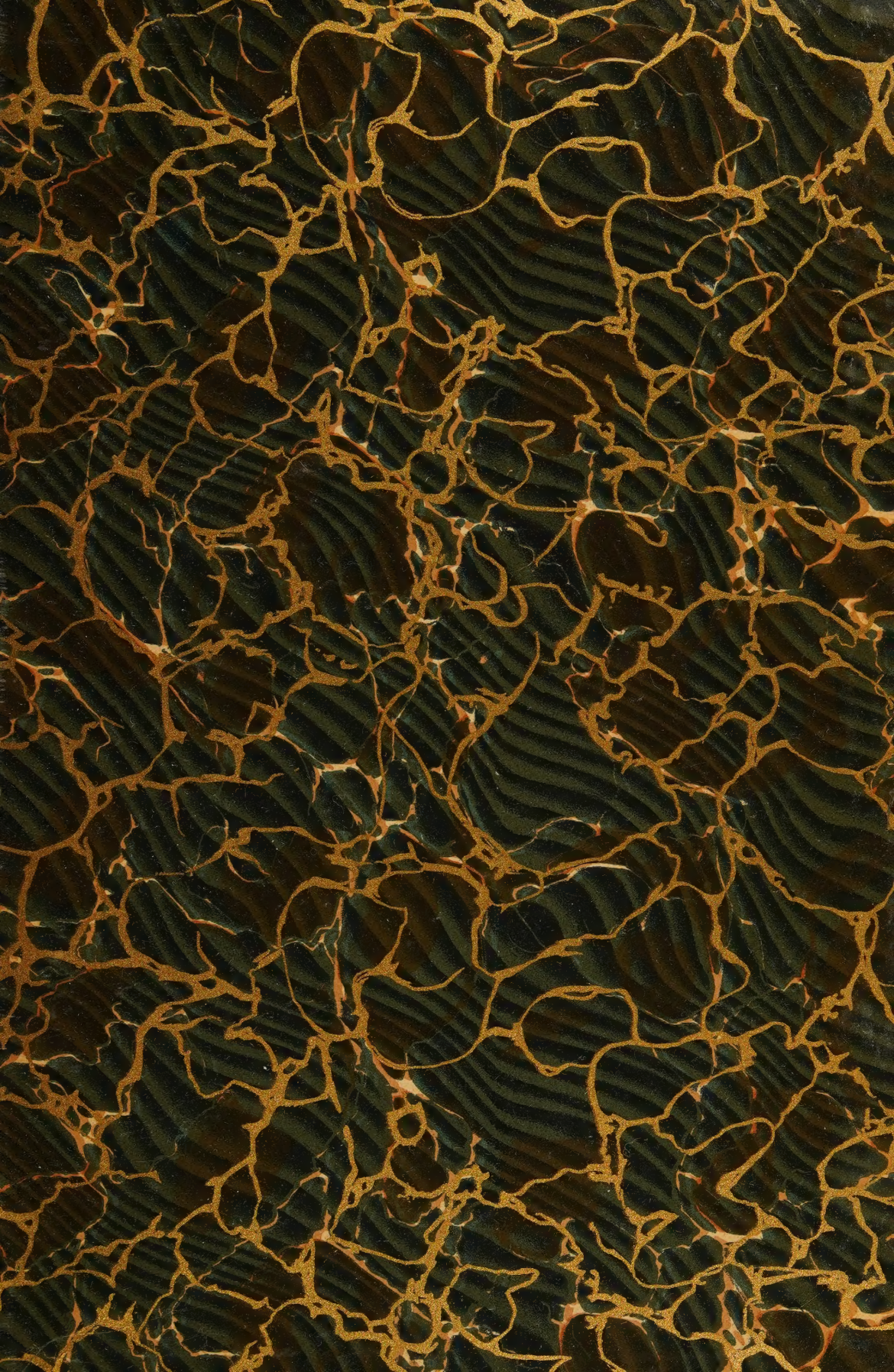

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L. Steele Davis

LEE'S INVASION OF THE NORTH.

J. Steeple Davis.

General Robert E. Lee, that great Southern commander, is here shown crossing the Potomac, intent on a second invasion of the North, shortly after his victory over "Fighting Jo" Hooker at Chancellorsville.

It was this invasion (1863) that threw the authorities at Washington into a panic, which was only subdued by Meade's and Hancock's great victory at the Waterloo of the Confederacy—Gettysburg.

The town of Lexington, Va., holds the ashes of General Lee, who was a grand character and a very great soldier.

THE HISTORY *of* OUR COUNTRY

From the Discovery of America to the Present Time

INCLUDING A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, COPIOUS ANNOTATIONS, A LIST OF AUTHORITIES AND REFERENCES, ETC. PROFUSELY AND BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED. MAPS, CHARTS, PORTRAITS, FAMOUS HISTORIC SCENES AND EVENTS, AND A SERIES OF BEAUTIFUL POLYCHROMATIC PLATES

By EDWARD S. ELLIS, A. M.

AUTHOR OF "THE STANDARD HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES" "YOUNG PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES", "THE ECLECTIC PRIMARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES", ETC.

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PUBLISHED BY

THE JONES BROTHERS PUBLISHING COMPANY

CINCINNATI, OHIO

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FEDERAL UNIFORMS DURING THE CIVIL WAR. 1861-1865

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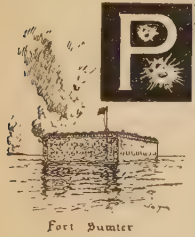
PERIOD VI—THE WAR FOR THE UNION

CHAPTER I

EVENTS OF 1861—IN THE EAST

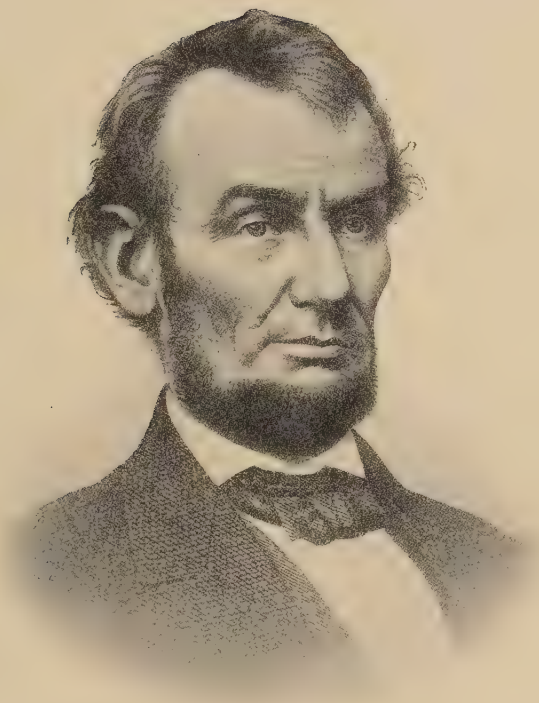
[*Author's Note:* Perhaps no year in the history of the world has been so pregnant of events meaning much in the story of human progress as 1861. It saw the beginning of a war that was to obliterate human slavery from the American continent; that was to draw the North and the South of the United States into a closer union after the hatreds and passions engendered were forgotten. National prosperity and advancement were, for the South at least, impossible while human slavery existed, for the reliance of individual citizens upon their own resources, mental and physical, is one of the indispensable factors in national weal.

In addition to the authorities already cited, the following will be found instructive. "McClellan's Own Story," "Papers of the Southern Historical Society," Comte de Paris' "History of the Civil War," and Estvan's "War Pictures of the South."]


Fort Sumter

PRESIDENT-ELECT LINCOLN left his home in Springfield, Ill., for Washington, February 11. He had held numerous consultations with leading men in the North, and carefully studied the course of events that already foreshadowed the most stupendous struggle in history. He was profoundly impressed with the responsibility that was soon to be laid upon his shoulders, and asked for the prayers of all lovers of their country that God should sustain him in the task whose weight was greater than that ever borne by any other American. At different points on the way he addressed the crowds that gathered to see and hear him. In every instance his words were marked by the same lofty patriotism and

THE PRIMARY CAUSES OF THE WAR—THE NEGRO AND COTTON



A. Lincoln

devotion to duty, and his appeals to his fellow-citizens were manly and convincing. He won many supporters, and there were few indeed in the North who did not sympathize with the man whose honest, homely face was already seamed with anxiety, and whose countenance showed an inexpressible pathos and sadness, relieved only at rare intervals during the four fateful years that followed.

An Impressive Warning

He made an address in Philadelphia, on Washington's birthday, during which he uttered the striking declaration that he would rather be assassinated than to surrender the principle of liberty on which the Union was formed. Late that night, when he had returned to his room at the Continental hotel, he was visited by the son of Secretary Seward, who brought a message from his father and General Scott to the effect that a plot had been arranged in Baltimore to assassinate him. Scott and Seward were so impressed that they urged Mr. Lincoln to change the time of his departure to an earlier hour, or to keep it a secret from all except his most intimate friends.

Similar warnings had been sent to him before he left home, but he gave little heed to them. Now, however, the message was in a form which he could not disregard. He reluctantly agreed to do as entreated. Thus it was that he passed through Baltimore late at night, without suspicion on the part of the plotters, and arrived in Washington early on the morning of the 23d, expected only by the few people who were in the secret.*

Inauguration of Lincoln

There was reason to fear that an attempt to slay the President would be made on the day of his inauguration. Accordingly, General Scott distributed a large number of soldiers throughout the city, and held them ready for instant action. An immense multitude was present, and there was great uneasiness in the North. Early in the forenoon the President-elect went from the White House to the Capitol; and between one and two o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Buchanan, he entered the Senate Chamber, the two arm in arm. The President was pale and disturbed, while the President-elect was

*In the party with Mr. Lincoln on this trip was a young Zouave, afterward known as Colonel Ellsworth. In May, 1861, he was ordered with his regiment to Alexandria, Va. Seeing a Confederate flag floating over a hotel, he ascended to the roof and removed it. As he was descending the stairs with it, the proprietor shot him dead, and he in turn was killed by one of Ellsworth's men. This was one of the early fatalities of the Civil War, and the occurrence made a sensation in the North.

cool, though his face was slightly flushed. He delivered his inaugural in the presence of the Supreme Court, both Houses of Congress, the foreign ministers, and many prominent citizens.

The address was in good taste. The President declared that there was no ground for the fears that had been expressed by some that

THE WARNING MESSAGE

the peace and prosperity of the Southern states were in danger from the Republican administration. He had no purpose of interfering in any way with slavery in those states where it existed. He was so explicit on this point that there was no room for mistake. He had sworn to support the Constitution and the laws, and nothing could swerve him from that purpose.

Lincoln's Cabinet

The Cabinet selected by President Lincoln included: William H. Seward, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

Treasury; Simon Cameron, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, Attorney-General; and Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General.

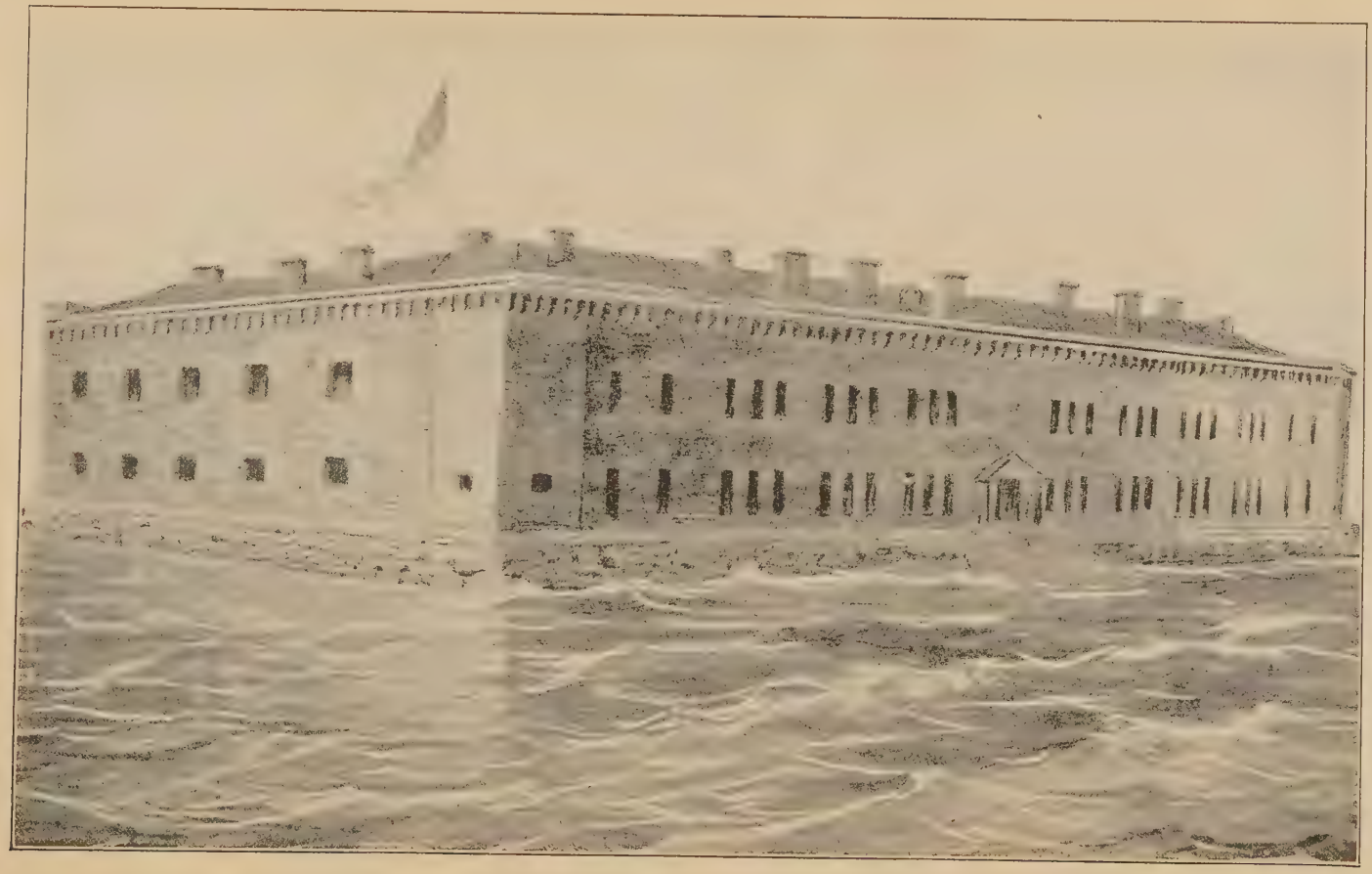
Earnestness of South Carolina

South Carolina, the pioneer of secession, left no room for doubt of her deadly earnestness. She had been busy for many weeks in strengthening the defenses in Charleston harbor. General Beauregard was in command of the Confederate forces, having been sent thither on the day succeeding President Lincoln's inauguration. On the 8th of April, the President notified Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, that he was resolved to provision Fort Sumter at all cost. General Beauregard telegraphed to the Confederate Secretary of War for instructions. He was ordered to compel the evacuation of the fort without delay. Beauregard sent two of his staff to Major Anderson to demand his surrender. The demand was refused, accompanied by the statement that the provisions on hand were so meager that the garrison could not hold out much longer. This did not satisfy Beauregard, who notified Anderson that if he would name a day on which he would evacuate Fort Sumter, and promise not to use his guns against the Confederates, unless himself attacked, Beauregard would not attack him. Major Anderson, whose position was critical, named the 15th of April as the date for the evacuation, unless he should receive supplies or orders from Washington. Beauregard could not accept these conditions, for he knew that a fleet, with provisions and reënforcements, was then off the harbor, and he informed Anderson that he would open fire within one hour.

Bombardment of Fort Sumter

The bombardment of Fort Sumter, which ushered in the war for the Union, began at half-past four on the morning of Friday, April 12. Edmund Ruffin, a white-haired Virginian, a former friend of Calhoun, had come all the way from his state to beg the favor of firing the first gun. Years afterward, when he saw how the war was to end, he committed suicide. General Beauregard, however, has asserted that Captain George S. James fired the first gun, after offering the privilege to Roger A. Pryor—afterwards a judge in the Supreme Court of New York City—who declined because Virginia, his state, had not yet seceded.

The first shot came from the battery at Cumming's Point, which is a narrow strip of land projecting northward from Morris Island.



FORT SUMTER BEFORE THE BOMBARDMENT

The other Confederate batteries were at Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan Island. The distance between these works and Fort Sumter was from 1,600 to 2,000 yards. Two mortar-batteries were mounted on a hastily thrown-up earthwork on Morris Island. The guns on Cumming's Point, the nearest to Fort Sumter, were protected by iron fortifications, while there was also a floating battery made of palmetto, armored with iron, and mounting four large guns. Nineteen batteries converged their fire upon the doomed fort.

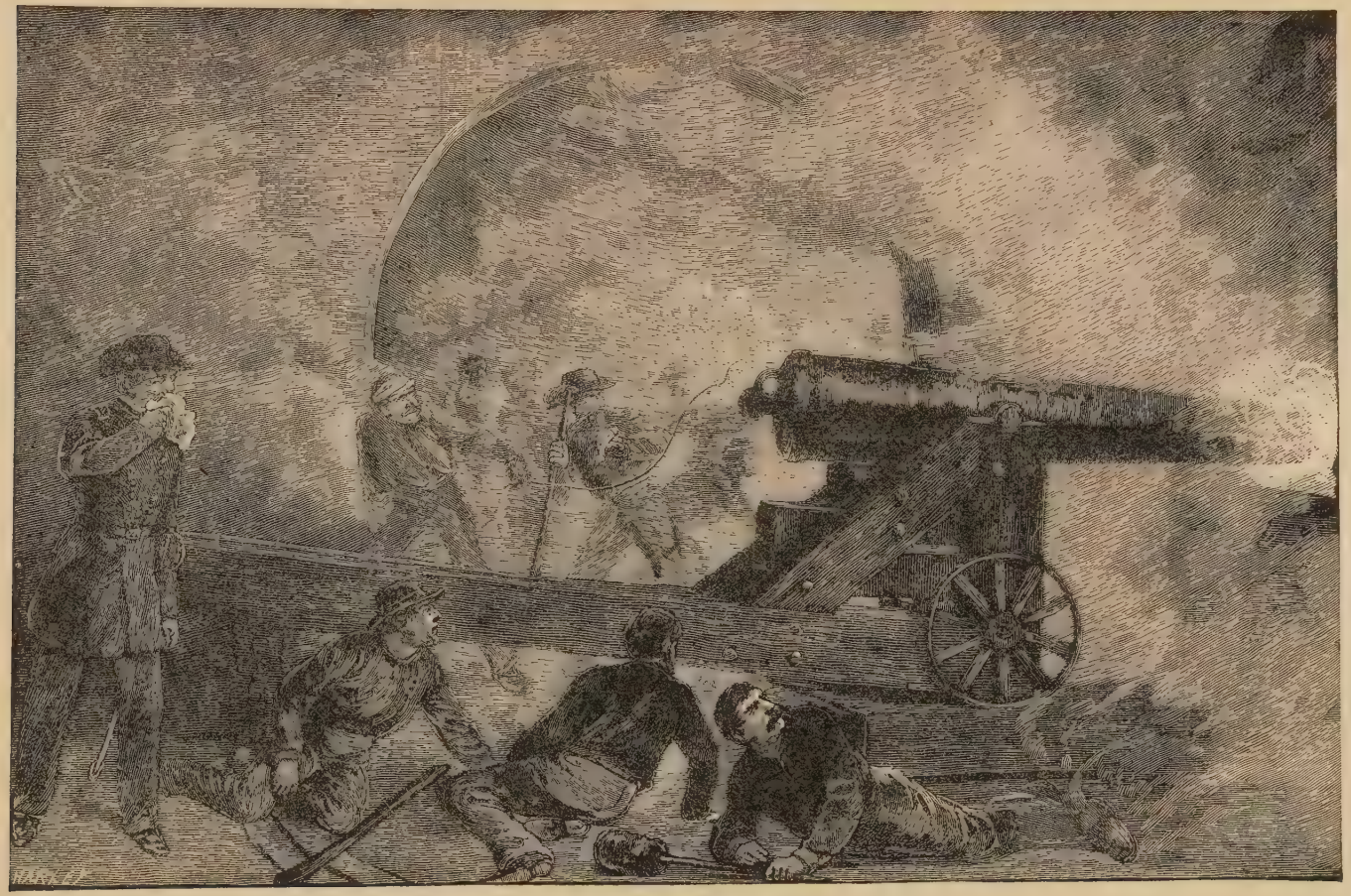
The telegraph wires, stretching north and south, pulsated with the news that the flag of the United States had been fired upon, and that the bombardment of Fort Sumter had begun. The excitement was more intense than had ever been known before. Crowds swarmed in front of the bulletin-boards and newspaper offices, all tremulous with emotion. In some portions of the North a man's life was unsafe if he uttered an expression in favor of secession. In the South it was equally perilous to speak against it. The opposing sentiments were crystallized in each section. In Charleston the citizens were frantic.

Excitement North and South

Probably the coolest persons in all the country were Major Anderson and his garrison, numbering seventy-nine soldiers and thirty laborers, who helped to work the guns. The commander, knowing what was before them, allowed all to partake first of breakfast. The fort was in a poor condition for defense. At noon the supply of cartridges gave out, and blankets, linen, and other material were used instead. The guns had no screws, scales, or tangents, and lacked shears on which to mount them until improvised ones were made. Two of the cannon on the open parapets were dismounted by the floating battery, and Major Anderson directed his men to keep within the bomb-proof galleries. The shells dropped into the fort at the rate of one every twenty minutes, and the fort answered regularly until dark, when the fire slackened. The Confederates continued the bombardment throughout the night, and at seven the next morning the garrison resumed their return fire.

Progress of the Bombardment

The shots from Fort Sumter produced little, if any effect, and the fleet lying outside the harbor, consisting of the sloops-of-war *Pawnee* and *Pocahontas*, and the steamers *Harriet Lane* and *Baltic*, could not approach near enough to give any aid. Soon the officers' barracks in the fort burst into flames, and the flag was half-masted as a signal of distress.



A SUMTER CASEMATE DURING THE BOMBARDMENT

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865

The fire was extinguished a number of times, but kept breaking out again. The smoke almost strangled the men, who found a partial relief by lying down and breathing the air as it came in below the vapor. The danger of explosion was so great that ninety barrels of powder were flung into the sea and the magazine closed.

Observing the signal of distress, Beauregard sent a boat to the fort to help extinguish the flames; but while it was on the way, a white flag was run up in token of surrender. The bombardment had lasted thirty-four hours, during which no one was killed on either side, though the fort was reduced to ruins.

The Surrender

When it became known in Charleston that Major Anderson had surrendered, the city was wild. The bells clanged, cannon roared, shouting horsemen dashed through the streets, and men danced with joy. "Southern independence" was the cry of everyone, and the sky was spanned by the rainbow of hope. Victory was considered won.

The garrison was permitted to take individual and corporate property, to march out with arms and the honors of war, and to salute the flag. During the firing of the salute, one of the garrison was killed, and three of the besiegers had been slightly wounded. The Union troops embarked in a vessel belonging to the Confederates, and were transferred to the *Baltic*, where the Fort Sumter flag was run up to the masthead and cheered, the other vessels joining with their guns.

The Garrison in New York

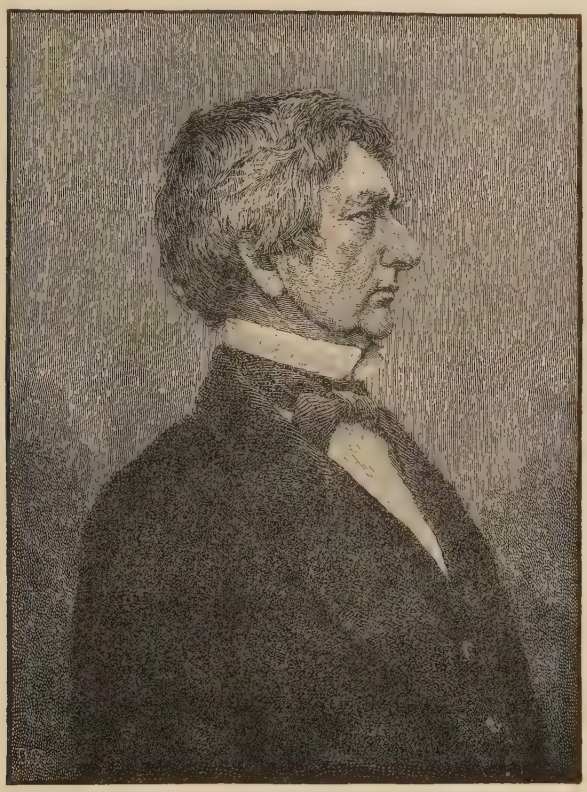
The *Baltic* reached New York on the 18th, being saluted by the forts in the harbor as she passed. An immense crowd awaited the garrison, whose hearts were thrilled by the cheers that welcomed them, and were repeated again and again.

The war for the Union had opened amid indescribable enthusiasm on both sides. In a speech from the balcony of the Charleston hotel, on the evening after the surrender of Major Anderson, Governor Pickens thanked God that the struggle had begun, and pledged himself and his hearers to die before they would submit. His listeners responded with cheers; and on the following Sunday, thanksgiving services were held in all the churches.

Three days later, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve for three months, and summoned Congress to meet on the 4th of July. Within a week, three hundred thousand clamored for admission into the ranks. The fires of loyalty spread with the speed of a prairie fire. The eagerness was fully as irre-

Enthusiasm North and South

strainable south of Mason and Dixon's line. Two days after President Lincoln's call, Virginia seceded; Arkansas did the same on the 6th of May, and North Carolina followed two weeks later. Tennessee was divided, the Union sentiment being specially strong in East Tennessee; but a secession ordinance was forced through on



SECRETARY WILLIAM H. SEWARD

the 8th of June. The attempt to do the same in Missouri precipitated civil war. Kentucky tried to be neutral. Her authorities issued a proclamation to that effect; but in the hostilities that followed, neither side paid any attention to it. The disunion sentiment predominated in Maryland, but the geographical position of the state held it nominally in the Union from the first.

Two days after President Lincoln's proclamation, President Davis answered in defiant terms. He asserted that the President of the United States had announced his purpose of invading the Confed-

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

eracy with an armed force, capturing its fortresses, and destroying its independence. The Confederate President invited all who were willing to help his government in its resistance to apply for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal. On the 19th of April, President Lincoln issued a second proclamation, declaring a blockade of the southern ports, and declaring, in effect, that any one molesting a vessel of the United States would be treated as a pirate.

The first northern troops to reach Washington in answer to the call of the President were six hundred Pennsylvanians, who arrived on the 19th of April, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. Baltimore was seething with excitement, and the demand was made that the Union troops should not march through the city. This demand was not heeded at first, and portions of the Seventh Pennsylvania and Sixth Massachusetts regiments were attacked by a furious mob. Two hundred Massachusetts soldiers, who had become separated from the regiment, were assailed, but pushed steadily forward under fine discipline. When, however, three of their number were killed and eight wounded, they poured a volley into the mob. Nine were killed, and many were wounded. George W. Brown, mayor of Baltimore, was a secessionist; but he marched beside the soldiers, until, exasperated by the howling rabble, he snatched a musket from a soldier, and shot dead one of the leading rioters. Fighting continued to the railway station, and the train moved away amid a shower of stones and a fusillade of pistol-shots. The arrival of the soldiers in Washington caused a feeling of relief, for our capital was in imminent peril. It would have required no very large force of Confederates to capture it and inflict a serious blow upon the Union cause before the war had more than begun.

Rioting in Baltimore

The United States government had an armory and arsenal at Harper's Ferry, which manufactured annually thousands of muskets, and had nearly a hundred thousand stored in the building. Knowing how tempting a prize this would be to the Confederates, quite a force was stationed there. Believing that a large body of the enemy was approaching, Lieutenant Jones, in charge of the arsenal, blew up the building and retreated across the river into Pennsylvania. The explosion, however, did not destroy the machine-shop, which, with its valuable contents, fell into the hands of the Confederates.

Capture of Harper's Ferry

The Virginians made preparations, April 16, to seize the navy-yard near Norfolk. They first sunk two light-boats in the channel

of the Elizabeth river, to prevent any of the vessels going out. There was a number of war-ships at the navy-yard at Gosport, opposite Norfolk, besides an immense quantity of arms and munitions of war. The defenses were so weak that Commodore McCauley was ordered to make all haste in arming the *Merrimac,* and in putting the *Plymouth* and *Dolphin* beyond danger; in loading the *Germantown* with the most valuable material, and holding her ready to be towed out on the first approach of danger. A number of junior officers persuaded McCauley to delay carrying out these orders until it was too late, these same officers soon afterwards joining the Confederacy.

Burning of the Norfolk Navy Yard

McCauley learned that the navy-yard was to be attacked by a strong force. He ordered all the vessels except one to be scuttled. Before this was done, Captain Spaulding arrived with the *Pawnee* from Washington, having safely passed the obstructions in the channel. Convinced that simply sinking the vessels would not keep them out of the hands of the Confederates, he directed them to be burned. On the morning of April 21, eleven vessels and several buildings were fired; but the destruction was checked, and the Confederates secured guns and property worth several million dollars.

Meanwhile, the city of Washington was in great danger. Enemies were on all sides, and they grew bolder every hour. More troops were needed for its defense, and Baltimore was in a ferment of rage because the soldiers that had saved the capital marched through its streets from one railway station to the other. The majority of her citizens, including many of prominence, were strongly disunion in their sentiments, and forced Governor Hicks to promise that the outrage, as they deemed it, should not be repeated. The bridges over which the troops were expected to arrive were burned, though the governor denied any responsibility for their destruction. Every telegraph line leading out of Baltimore was cut, except one which communicated with Richmond. The Confederate authorities were kept informed of every movement of the national government, for they had sympathizers in high places, even among the relatives of General Scott. President Lincoln, who saw the critical danger of Washington, suggested to the committee sent to him by Governor Hicks that the national troops should pass around Baltimore. The agreement was finally made that they should go to Washington by way of Annapolis, the capital of Maryland.

Treason in High Places

The famous Seventh regiment of New York City had volun-

GOING TO THE FRONT—REGIMENTS PASSING THE ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK

teered its services for thirty days, and set out for Washington before the rioting in Baltimore was hardly finished. This splendid troop marched down Broadway amid the waving of handkerchiefs and the cheering of thousands at the windows and on the sidewalks. The metropolis had always been proud of her Seventh, and many an eye kindled as they swept down the great thoroughfare to the inspiring strains of martial music.

More Troops for Washington

At Annapolis the Seventh New York joined the Eighth Massachusetts, under General Benjamin F. Butler. The mechanics among the New England soldiers speedily repaired the disabled engines, broken tracks, and rebuilt the destroyed bridges along the railroad. Colonel Lefferts pushed on to Washington with the Seventh, while General Butler remained behind to hold the road open.

By this time the government began to understand the stupendous task on her hands. Seventy-five thousand volunteers were but a handful as compared with the number needed, and no army in the world could overrun and conquer the South in three months or in a year. She had able officers and brave soldiers, and, except in a few sections, all sentiment in favor of the Union had been extinguished. It was a united North against a united South, and each was eager for the conflict.

A Second Call for Volunteers

On the 3d of May, President Lincoln issued his second call for troops. This time the term of enlistment was for three years or during the war. The total number called out was 85,000, of whom 42,000 were to serve in the volunteer ranks, 23,000 as regulars, and 18,000 as seamen. Of the nine hundred and fifty-one officers in the United States army at the opening of 1861, two hundred and sixty-two joined the Confederates. Besides this, scores of officers who had resigned their commissions to adopt other professions, hastened southward and cast their fortunes with the Confederacy. It may be said that it was the fashion in many sections in the North, before the fall of Sumter, to show a strong sympathy for secession. There was some foundation for the boast of Jefferson Davis that he had his choice of the officers of the army.

General Benjamin F. Butler lacked a military education, and never displayed any marked ability in that direction; but he was vigorous, able, prompt, possessing great shrewdness, and was never afraid to do, regardless of consequences, what he believed to be the right thing. He was appointed to the command of the Annapolis depart-

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

ment, which included twenty miles on each side of the railway between Annapolis and Washington. Learning that a large quantity of gunpowder intended for the secessionists was stored in a church in Baltimore, he took possession of the Relay House, on the Baltimore and Ohio railway, on the 5th of May. Eight days later, under cover

ATTACK ON THE UNION TROOPS IN BALTIMORE

of the guns of Fort McHenry and of a gunboat in the harbor, a portion of his command marched into the city and took position on Federal Hill. General Butler notified the people that he had come to enforce obedience to the laws and to protect loyal citizens. The most violent of the secessionists had left the city, and the Union troops received many cheers on their march to Federal Hill.

General Butler's Vigor

Butler showed his earnestness from the first. He forbade the display of secession badges, stopped disunion assemblages and the

carrying of supplies to the insurgents, and offered to help the authorities in enforcing the laws. Several persons were arrested, and others would have been taken into custody, had not General Winfield S. Scott (who was lieutenant-general of the army) peremptorily checked him with notice that his occupation of Baltimore was without his knowledge or consent. The commander-in-chief was so provoked that he demanded the recall of General Butler. President Lincoln complied, and "punished" him by making him a major-general of volunteers, with the command of an important military district. His headquarters were at Fort Monroe, which was the most formidable military work in this country. The vast structure was begun in 1819, during the presidency of Monroe, and was named in his honor.

General Butler's "Punishment"

Fort Monroe* was under the command of Colonel Dimick, of the regular army, and had nearly four hundred cannon. Shortly after General Butler assumed command, a number of negro slaves fled into the Union lines for protection. Their owners demanded their return; but Butler refused, with the declaration that negroes were "contraband of war." The expression offended the sympathizers with the South, and delighted those who favored a vigorous prosecution of the war. The policy soon became that of the government, which looked upon fugitive slaves as contraband of war.

Butler fortified the point of land at the junction of the James river and Hampton Roads, known as Newport News. At Big Bethel, fifteen miles distant, was a Confederate detachment, the main body at Yorktown being under the command of General J. B. Magruder, who had been an artillery officer in the United States army. The force at Big Bethel consisted of eight hundred North Carolina troops and three hundred Virginians, with a battery of one rifle-gun and five howitzers, under the command of Colonel D. H. Hill. The position was naturally strong, enclosed by a forest, with the flanks protected by swamps. A slight distance in front was Little Bethel, with a cavalry picket.

Big Bethel

General Butler sent four regiments, under General Pierce, on the night of June 9, to attack the Confederate position. In the faint

*The War Department has always called this fortification "Fort Monroe," but the Post-Office Department invariably refers to it as "Fortress Monroe." In a military sense the latter name is wrong, a fort being an isolated fortification, while a fortress is a system of forts for the defense of a city usually from land attack.

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

light of the early morning his two columns mistook each other for the enemy and opened fire. Ten men were killed before the mistake was discovered. An assault followed, and the brilliant Major Winthrop was shot dead at the head of one of the companies. After losing fourteen killed—among whom was Lieutenant John T. Greble, of the regular army—and forty-nine wounded, the Union force retreated. The affair was a woeful blunder from the beginning.

In Western Virginia

Important events were taking place in western Virginia, where most of the inhabitants were loyal to the Union. Colonel Lew Wallace, on the 11th of June, attacked a Confederate force at Romney, in northwestern Virginia. At the head of a detachment of Indiana Zouaves he left Cumberland, in Maryland, and marched thirty-three miles over the mountains, mostly at night. Reaching his destination at eight o'clock in the morning, he made a sudden charge, captured the Confederate battery, and drove the defenders in a panic into the woods. Unable to overtake them, Colonel Wallace then returned to Cumberland.

Although this incident was slight of itself, it brought about important changes. It alarmed General Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate commander, who, fearing for his communications, evacuated Harper's Ferry and moved up the Shenandoah Valley towards Winchester.

General McClellan

General George B. McClellan, who soon became the idol of the Union army, now appeared in the field of military action. He was born in Philadelphia in 1826, was graduated with high honor at West Point, served with distinction in Mexico, was a brilliant engineer, and was engaged in railway service when the war broke out. His well-known ability attracted attention, and he was placed in command of the military district including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Virginia. At the head of 15,000 soldiers he marched against the Confederates in western Virginia, who were under the command of General Garnett, a former instructor of McClellan at West Point. Garnett posted himself on Laurel Hill, west of the principal Allegheny range, and protecting the road connecting Philippi and Beverly. A short distance south of Laurel Hill, Colonel Pegram commanded a Confederate detachment at Rich Mountain.

Against these positions McClellan advanced from the north, halting, on the 11th of July, within a few miles of Rich Mountain, amid a drenching rain-storm. Colonel Rosecrans led four regiments the

next morning by a roundabout course through the woods, with the purpose of turning Colonel Pegram's position. Under a heavy fire they climbed the mountain and drove the Confederates down the other side. Turning to the east, Rosecrans arrived within three miles of Beverly, towards which Garnett had retreated after his position was turned. Garnett now moved northward, aiming for St. George, on the Cheat river.

Meanwhile, the position of Colonel Pegram had become so hopeless that he surrendered, with six hundred of his men, the rest hurrying off to join Garnett. As the latter fled, his soldiers cut down trees and overturned rocks, so as to impede the Union forces under General Morris, who encountered, besides, swift, swollen streams, tangled undergrowth, and dense woods. But nothing could stay the pursuers, who overtook the Confederates on the 13th, at Carrick's Ford, on the Cheat river. They were scattered like chaff, General Garnett being shot dead at the head of his men. Colonel Taliaferro finally succeeded in reaching Monterey, with the remnants, east of the Alleghenies. Had General Morris failed to overtake the Confederates, they could not have escaped, for General McClellan had placed his own troops, superior in numbers, across their line of flight, and was waiting for them.

Union Victories

These successes were trifling compared with the great campaigns that followed, but they caused enthusiasm in the North, for they formed about all there was to cheer the Unionists in the opening days of the war. McClellan had captured a thousand prisoners, seven guns, fifteen hundred stands of arms, completely routing the enemy, and with the loss to himself of only about two-score men. There had been so many blunders, because of incompetent leaders, that the North was impatient, and was anxiously looking for the right man to lead the Union armies to victory. The people believed he had now appeared in the person of General McClellan. His popularity was boundless; because of his short stature he was admiringly called "Little Mac," and most people saw in him the genius of Napoleon himself. No American ever had a better opportunity than General McClellan to win the love and gratitude of his countrymen.

"Little Mac"

In obedience to the proclamation of President Lincoln, Congress met in extraordinary session on the 4th of July. It was an impressive gathering. Many a chair was vacant in the Senate and House.

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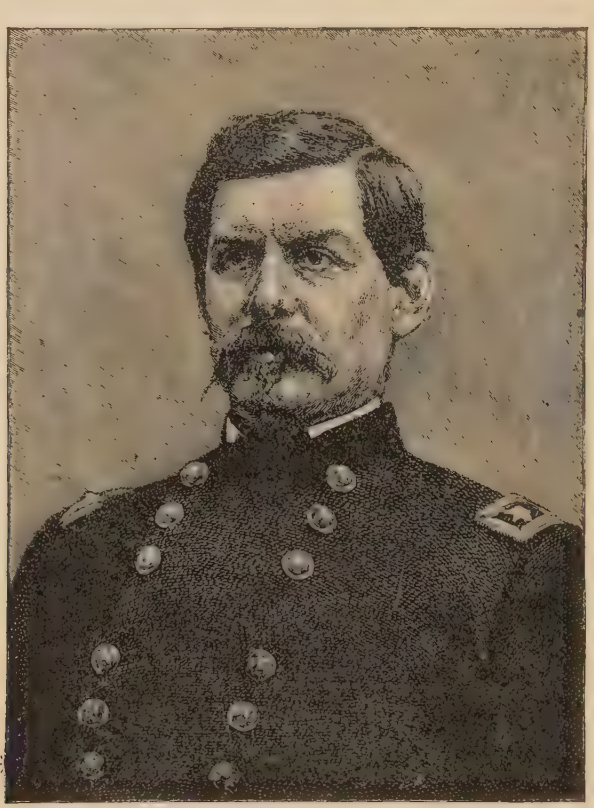
Those who had occupied them were in the South, doing what they could to destroy the Union under which they were born and had lived all their lives. President Lincoln sat for many an hour with a telescope, scanning the position where the "stars and bars" fluttered defiantly in the breeze, and where the Confederates were making



GENERAL GEORGE B. McCLELLAN

ready to resist the Union advance, and possibly to attack Washington itself. North and South, the war spirit was irresistible. In the South, an able-bodied man who held back was jeered and often mobbed for hesitating to join the multitude struggling for places in the ranks. The women were as intensely in earnest as the men. Husbands, brothers, and sons were cheerfully given up and urged to join those that were fighting for secession. Those of pronounced Union sentiment were driven out of the community—if, indeed, they were allowed to go—or were forced into the ranks. Thousands of

The War Spirit

households were divided, as was the country itself. Sometimes it was the father against his sons, and often brothers against one another. The case of the Missouri parent who laid the bodies of his two boys side by side, one having been a Union and the other a Confederate soldier, was by no means a solitary illustration of the far-reaching strife which marked the fearful war for the Union.

The Writ of Habeas Corpus Suspended

President Lincoln, in his message to Congress, submitted the question as to whether and how the republic could protect its own life against the foes from within. The government had suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, for which it was censured by Chief Justice Taney of the Supreme Court. He declared that the Constitution and the laws did not give the President the right to suspend this writ, nor could any military officer be authorized to do so. This decision was disputed by many, and President Lincoln asked the pointed question whether all the laws, excepting a single one, were to be violated, and the government destroyed for the sake of saving that solitary law. At the same time, the President sustained his position by the following quotation from the Constitution: "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, public safety may require it."

It should be explained that the Constitution gives to every person arrested and thrown into prison the right to be brought before a judge, who will inquire into and decide whether he is justly deprived of his liberty. If not, he is set free. It is one of the most sacred rights of American citizenship, and only the gravest peril can warrant its suspension. The writ was suspended on April 27, 1861, as to the country between Philadelphia and Washington; on May 10, it was suspended as to Florida. On September 24, 1862, the suspension was made general, so far as it might affect persons arrested by military authority for disloyal practices. On September 15, 1863, the writ was suspended as to prisoners of war, deserters, those who resisted the draft, and persons accused of offenses against the military and naval services. The writ was restored on December 1, 1865, except in the late Confederate states, and in the District of Columbia, New Mexico, and Arizona; on April 2, 1866, it was restored everywhere except in Texas, and on August 20, it was restored in Texas also. The right of immediate examination, release on bail, and trial by jury was suspended, substituting therefor imprisonment in a military prison and trial by a military court.

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The President recommended to Congress that, in order to push the war to a decisive issue, 400,000 men and $400,000,000 should be placed at the disposal of the government. There were then 230,000 men in the field; but of these, 80,000 had enlisted for three months, and their terms had nearly expired.

Decisive Measures

Besides this vast force, an immense fleet was necessary to render the blockade effective. The South was already fitting out blockade-runners and cruisers to prey upon our commerce. Action on the part of the national government was urgent. Congress promptly passed a bill authorizing a call for half a million volunteers, and declared in emphatic language that the Union should be maintained at all cost.

War Measures in the South

The Southern Confederacy displayed equal earnestness. Its Congress passed an enlistment act, without any time limit, and it was believed that one hundred and fifty thousand men could be put in the field. An act took effect May 16, authorizing the issue of $50,000,000 in bonds, payable in twenty years, at an annual interest not to exceed eight per cent. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to use his discretion in issuing, instead of bonds, $20,000,000 in treasury notes, not bearing interest, in denominations not less than $5, to be received in payment of all taxes or debts due to the Confederacy, except the export duty on cotton, or in exchange for the bonds authorized at that time to be issued. The Confederate notes, like the old Continental money, rapidly depreciated in value, and soon became worthless.

England and France were ardent sympathizers of the Southern Confederacy, though there were many in both countries who were friends of the Union. England would have been glad to see the American Union destroyed. The aristocracy was jealous of the young republic; and though Great Britain professed to be unalterably hostile to African slavery, she was glad to help the Confederacy, whose corner-stone was that institution. She was not willing to come out frankly in support of disunion, but hastened to give to the South belligerent rights, and helped the war in underhanded ways. She aided the Confederacy in fitting out cruisers to prey upon Northern commerce, and furnished men and supplies to these privateers; so that there was much truth in the declaration that British pirates were sailing under the flag of the Southern Confederacy. It was fear alone that restrained open assistance to the South. Eng-

English Enmity

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PATRIOTISM IN THE NORTH

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

land dreaded the "day of reckoning" for such a course, and, as will be learned, she was finally compelled to pay a good sum for her treacherous action toward the American Union. Even Gladstone, the "grand old man," was unfriendly to our cause, and declared that Jefferson Davis had "created a nation." He afterwards admitted his great error. Queen Victoria, however, was steadfastly true from the beginning, and she had many supporters, chief among whom was the noble John Bright.

The French Emperor

Louis Napoleon, emperor of France, was our malignant foe at all times. An unprincipled adventurer, without ability, honor, or manhood, he never would have been tolerated by his own countrymen but for the halo of his name. Even that did not save him from disgrace and exile, previous to which he was given a taste of American spirit, which he was prompt to heed.

At the time Congress was sitting in extraordinary session, a number of Confederate cruisers were destroying Northern commerce and shipping. In President Lincoln's proclamation of April 19, he declared that he would treat all captured Confederate privateers as pirates. As this meant that he would hang the officers and crews, Jefferson Davis notified him that in retaliation he would hang an equal number of Federal prisoners. This stopped the national government; and eventually the crews of the privateers were exchanged, the same as the land forces had been from the first.

Retaliatory Measures

By this time it was apparent that the first great shock of arms would occur in the East, and upon the soil of Virginia. The Confederacy, therefore, changed its capital to Richmond, the last session of its Congress being held in Montgomery on the 21st of May, 1861. Jefferson Davis followed five days later, and General Beauregard arrived on the 1st of June, assuming command of the Confederate troops in the department of Alexandria.

Thus the National and the Confederate Congresses were in session at the same time (the latter meeting on the 20th of July) and within a comparatively short distance of each other. The adjournment of the Southern Congress to Richmond angered the North. The New York *Tribune* only echoed the universal sentiment when it kept at the head of its editorial columns the cry "On to Richmond," and insisted that the Confederates should not be allowed to meet there. The impatience of the North became so clamorous that the government was forced to heed the demand.

"On to Richmond"

There seemed to be reason for this assurance on the part of the North. The Potomac was held in a tight grasp from its mouth to Cumberland, in Maryland. The adjoining sea-coast was blockaded, and the Virginia shore of the river closely guarded. Here and there, however, the Confederates had erected a few batteries. General Irvin McDowell had a Union army of about forty-five thousand troops in camp south of the Potomac; and though as yet many of them had little drill or discipline, they were full of patriotism, and eager to be led forward.

The Confederate Forces

General Beauregard, with a Confederate army of about equal strength, was posted near Manassas Junction, thirty-three miles from Washington. It had rail communication with Richmond, and a number of fortifications had been thrown up. General Joseph E. Johnston, with a second Confederate army, was strongly intrenched at Winchester. His task was to prevent any advance by General Robert Patterson, and to keep him from joining McClellan. At the same time, General Scott assured McDowell that Patterson, with his eighteen thousand men, would prevent Johnston from joining Beauregard. It was planned, therefore, that McDowell should march to Fairfax Court House, then turn south, cross the Occoquan river, and attack Beauregard's line of communication with Richmond.

The advance of the Union army was looked upon as a holiday, for none in the North doubted that it would be successful. A large number of Congressmen and crowds of civilians rode out from Washington to witness the novel and inspiring sight. In many of the carriages were ladies, who secured favorable positions from which to view through their opera-glasses the overthrow of the rebel forces. The warm sun shone bright on the afternoon of July 16, when the Union army, with colors flying, and to the strains of martial music, marched proudly southwards towards Richmond. It consisted of about thirty thousand men, of whom less than one thousand were regulars. Sixteen thousand men, under General Mansfield, remained in Washington to protect the city against surprise, while Generals Tyler, Hunter, Heintzelman, and Miles, with four divisions, aggregating some thirty thousand, advanced over four converging roads to Centerville. Heintzelman set out at two in the afternoon, the others following at eight the next morning. They found Fairfax Court House deserted, and pushed on to Centerville.

The Union Advance

Bull Run is a small stream, with its source in a chain of hills west

DAM ACROSS BULL RUN, NEAR BLACKBURN'S FORD

of Alexandria, and flows into the Occoquan, some twelve miles from the Potomac. Beauregard was posted at Manassas, on this little stream, his lines extending nearly six miles along the southern bank, from Sudley Spring to Union Mills. At that point Bull Run is crossed by the Orange and Alexandria railway. Within the space named were eight fords and a stone bridge, over which passes the Warrenton turnpike. The banks of Bull Run are rocky and steep, and the surrounding country abounded with thick woods and undergrowth. The Confederate reserves were at Camp Pickens, near Manassas Junction, and close at hand were the headquarters of Beauregard. That part of the line was defended by an outpost, with fortifications at Centerville, while Johnston's division was to the left of the other Confederate forces.

McDowell made a reconnaissance, and learned that the character of the ground would prevent his turning the right flank of the enemy, as had been his purpose. Early on the morning of the 18th, it was found that the Confederates had evacuated Centerville and taken position on the southern bank of Bull Run. General Tyler, with the First Federal Division, decided to attack at once at Blackburn's Ford, between the Warrenton road and the Richmond and Alexandria railway. He opened with his heavy guns, at a distance of a mile and a half, gradually moving forward. The Confederates replied, and the Unionists began falling back. The Confederates crossed at Mitchell's Ford, and posting themselves on elevated ground east of the road to Centerville, delivered a heavy fire against the withdrawing Federals. General Tyler's purpose was not to bring on a general battle, but to make a reconnaissance.

The Confederate Position

This reconnaissance showed that the Confederate position was too strong to be attacked in front. It was decided, therefore, to assail the left flank. Hunter and Heintzelman were to march up stream, cross at Sudley Ford, pass down on the right bank, and uncover the other fords, when the remaining divisions should cross and a general attack should follow.

Two days were consumed in this movement, during which the Confederates improved the time to the utmost. Johnston, without any dread of Patterson, left Winchester, and on the morning of the 20th joined Beauregard with six thousand men and twenty guns. The remainder of his troops followed, while additional forces were hurried from Richmond. By the time the Unionists were ready to

Opening Movements

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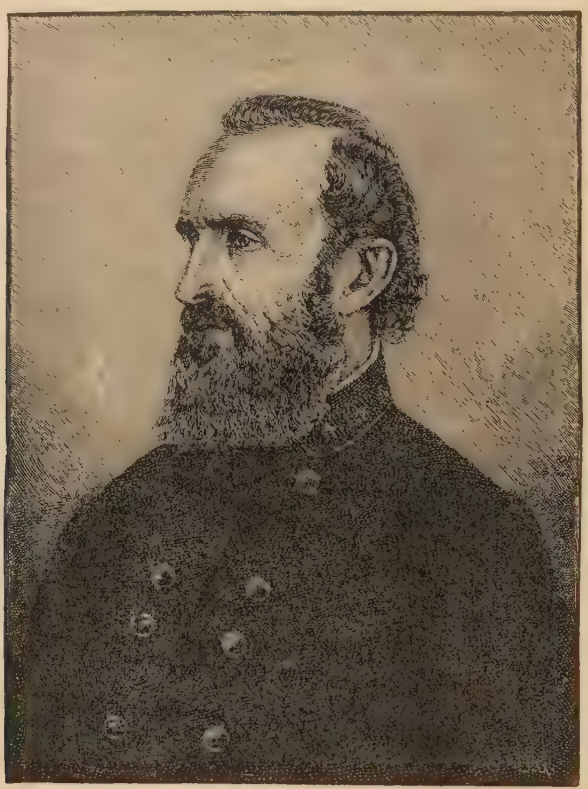
attack, the insurgents felt themselves secure. General Johnston, by virtue of his seniority, was entitled to command; but, satisfied with what Beauregard had done, he offered to serve under his orders. On Sunday morning, July 21, the Confederates were drawn up in three lines, closely watching the eight fords over which they expected the



GENERAL "STONEWALL" JACKSON

attack to be made. The position was exceptionally strong, with the left on the Centerville and Warrenton road, a little way above the bridge over which the turnpike crosses Bull Run; the right at Union Mills Ford, eight miles farther down stream, near the railway; while Bull Run, with its steep, rocky banks, flowed in front. Behind, were the dense woods, capable of concealing thousands of marksmen, who could fire in security upon an approaching foe.

The Union Plan

It will be remembered that McDowell's plan was to turn the Confederate left, destroy the railway to the Shenandoah Valley,

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Stonewall Jackson, Bull Run, July 21, 1861.

and check the advance of the remainder of Johnston's army.

The Union forces were astir before sunrise, but the hot forenoon was nearly gone before they were under way. Tyler's division took the main road to the stone bridge, and Heintzelman and Hunter turned to the right and crossed Bull Run at Sudley Ford. Colonel Evans held the extreme Confederate left. Growing uneasy at what he saw, he marched up stream with part of a brigade, with which he met the Union advance, while the flanking column was beyond the turnpike. Evans could have been overwhelmed, but McDowell sent detached regiments against him, all of which were repelled. Then, when strongly reënforced, Evans fell back to a stronger position. Hunter was also heavily reënforced, and pressed Evans so close that Beauregard and Johnston hurried forward to direct the movements of the troops. All the reserves were ordered up, and a new line of battle was formed with sixty-five hundred men, two companies of cavalry, and thirteen guns.

McDowell was edging around to the Confederate left. There was sharp fighting on an elevation partly covered with pine woods, the Confederates being driven down the eastern slope several times, and losing considerable ground.

It was at this juncture that the insurgent General Bee, in appealing to his men to resist the Union charges, pointed to General Thomas J. Jackson, and exclaimed: "Look! there stands Jackson like a stone wall!" It was thus that one of the most famous of the Confederate leaders gained the name by which he was ever afterward known.

"Stonewall" Jackson

Jackson sent a regiment to capture the Union battery that was killing many of his men. The artillerymen mistook them for friends coming to their support, and when they discovered their error, the battery was captured. Reënforcements, however, came up and retook the guns from the Confederates.

The Union brigade, under Colonel Richardson, assailed the center under Generals Jones and Longstreet at Blackburn's Ford, to prevent their reënforcing the Confederate left, where the Federals were steadily advancing. Longstreet crossed the stream and attacked the Unionists, who were thus stopped from joining in the fight on the left. The Confederate right and the Union left did no fighting of account.

The gain of the Federals at the center alarmed Johnston, who

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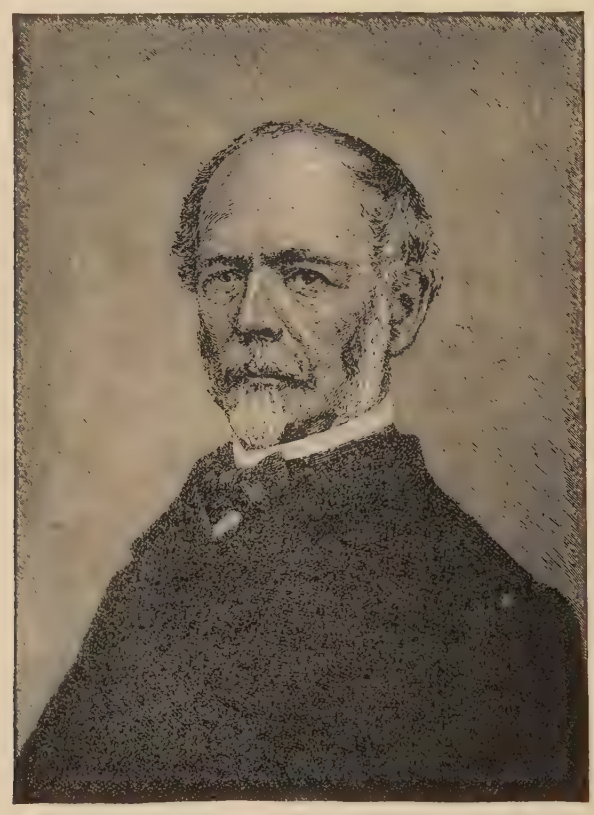
was at the Lewis House anxiously watching, so far as he could, the progress of the battle, receiving reports and sending out orders. It was a trying hour indeed, for all signs indicated the success of the Union army. Again and again Johnston turned his eyes to the south, longing for the reënforcements that did not come. A little



GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON

more delay, and the disaster to the Confederates would be complete and irretrievable.

Reënforcements Approaching

It was between three and four o'clock when, in the direction of the Manassas Gap railway, he saw a cloud of dust rising in the sky. His heart sank, for he believed it was caused by Union reënforcements hurrying to the battle-field; but to his infinite relief, he soon learned that four thousand Confederates were approaching under General E. Kirby Smith. They were on the Shenandoah

Valley train, when the sound of cannon told Smith that a battle was in progress. He stopped the cars, the soldiers scrambled out and went at double-quick across the country. Johnston shouted to them to attack McDowell's right, and another brigade was ordered to help them.

The situation of Beauregard was critical. He was fighting desperately, but was pressed steadily backward. At the moment when defeat seemed inevitable, he was strongly reënforced. An advance along the whole line was ordered, and the fresh troops charged with wild enthusiasm. The Unionists were flanked and forced down the side of the plateau. Sharpshooters kept the woods aflame, and a strong force of Stuart's cavalry joined in the impetuous charge, which threw the Federal troops into panic.

A terrible scene followed. It was about half-past four that the right wing broke and fled, quickly followed by the center and the left. A jumble of artillery, infantry, ambulance trains, congressmen, civilians, and vehicles of all kinds joined in a wild struggle to get back to Washington. Artillerymen cut the traces of their galloping horses, and, leaping upon their backs, trampled those who were too helpless or crazed with fright to get out of their path. Men who were perched amid the limbs of trees, so as to gain a good view of the Confederate defeat, jumped to the ground and joined in the stampede, and hundreds, pale with terror, ran until exhausted, when they fell and were crushed under the massive wheels of the plunging cannon. The soldiers and spectators had become a frantic mob, swayed by the one wild desire to escape death.

Union Panic at Bull Run

They began to arrive in Washington on the morning of the 22d, bringing gloom and terror with them. Many fearing they were not safe even there, crowded the railway trains and overran the city. Discipline finally restored something like order.

Had the Confederates known of the demoralization of the Union army, they might have captured Washington, and thus gained a triumph beyond estimate. Beauregard and Johnston were censured for not doing this; but while the pursuit was under way, word reached Beauregard that the Union troops were threatening his position at Union Mills. By his orders the pursuit was stopped.

General McDowell had done all that was possible; but his men were undisciplined; and all such, no matter how brave, are sometimes thrown into panic by trifling causes. When he saw that the day was

Undisciplined Troops

From the Original Painting by Walter Russell

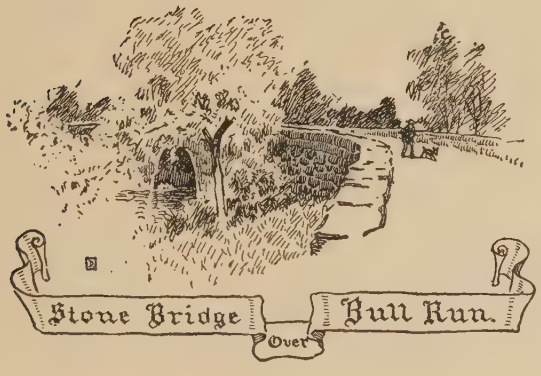
PANIC OF THE UNION TROOPS AT BULL RUN

lost, he galloped to Centerville and sent General Blenker's German brigade to support the flying troops, while Colonels Davies and Richardson were ordered to cover Centerville.

Ewell had been directed to cross Bull Run and attack Centerville, but his attack was repelled. It must be remembered that frightful as was the panic at Bull Run, it spread through only a portion of the army. The regulars, Blenker's brigade, and nearly all the reserves at Centerville, though they had been fighting and marching continuously for a day and a night, were not stampeded, but did fine service in checking the pursuit of the terrified fugitives.

The Confederate loss, as given by General Johnston, was 1,897, while that of the Union forces was 2,952, included in which were 1,460 missing, most of whom were taken prisoners.

This was the first real battle of the Civil War, and was a crushing Union defeat.



GENERAL GRANT RECONNOITERING IN THE RAIN AT BELMONT

CHAPTER II

EVENTS OF 1861 (CONTINUED)

IN THE EAST AND ELSEWHERE

[*Author's Note:* Nothing better reveals the indomitable determination of the North to preserve the Union than her steady persistence in 1861. Disaster to the Unionists was the rule, with scarcely an exception; yet every repulse seemed to infuse into the people of the North a more deadly earnestness in their effort to prevent a rupture of the bonds of union among the states. There was as yet no thought of the abolishment of slavery—it was only to maintain the cohesion of the country. "The Union must and shall be preserved!" was the universal feeling. Party lines were obliterated, political antagonisms were forgotten in the general enthusiasm. Even defeat, again and again, was of no effect, and the scarcely veiled hostility of England went for nothing. We were fighting for our national life. The reader is referred to Hilliard's "Life of George B. McClellan," Greeley's "American Conflict," Tenney's "Military History of the Rebellion," and "Southern Generals."]

CONSTERNATION filled the North. No one had dreamed so stupendous a disaster possible. The first battle had brought the most decisive of victories to the Confederates.

One of the truest of all sayings is that nothing should be counted a misfortune until the end is seen. The Union defeat at Bull Run (or Manassas, as it is called in the South) was the best thing that could have happened for the North, and the worst possible for the cause of the South. It destroyed the overwhelming confidence of the Unionists, who began to comprehend the greatness of the task before them. It gave an assurance and hope to the Confederates which led them to underrate the power and resolution of the North. Southern independence was looked upon as certain. In-

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deed, many soldiers went home after the battle of Bull Run, convinced that there would be no more fighting.

General McClellan in Command

General McClellan, the popular leader, was summoned to Washington and placed in command of the department of the Potomac. He took charge, August 20, and set to work to organize, drill, and discipline the superb army placed in his hands. The authorities later learned the important truth, that the successful politician is the poorest soldier. Scores of officers had been appointed for no other reason than that they had influence with those above them, and hundreds of brave men were sacrificed because of the incompetence of their leaders. The same mistake was made to some extent by the Confederates; but the worthless ones were soon weeded out on both sides, and military operations were intrusted to those who were fitted by training for the duty. A bill passed by the national Congress, requiring a qualifying examination before anyone was appointed to a post of command, caused the dismissal in eight months of three hundred and ten officers. The lieutenants, captains, colonels, and generals who had been parading in Washington, slipped out of their gorgeous uniforms, went home, and were heard of no more. Their loss was their country's gain.

The Confederates had been driven out of West Virginia, and they determined to reconquer it. With that object, General John B. Floyd was sent to reënforce General Wise at Lewisburg, on the Greenbrier river. The remnants of Garnett's forces had been gathered at Monterey, and were placed under the command of General Robert E. Lee.

Fighting in West Virginia

The purpose of Floyd was to capture the Kanawha Valley and the country lying north. Leaving Wise to watch the Union General Cox, Floyd pressed on to attack Colonel Tyler at Carnifex Ferry. Tyler fell back across the stream on the approach of Floyd, and the absence of boats delayed the latter. Then Floyd tried to get to the rear of Cox, so as to cut him off from the base of his operations on the Ohio; but Rosecrans advanced to the relief of Cox before this could be accomplished. A battle opened September 10 between Rosecrans and Floyd, which continued all day. Floyd retreated during the night, and kept up his flight, pursued by Rosecrans, to Meadow Bluff on the road to Lewisburg. Wise formed an intrenched camp on Sewell's Mountain, and General Lee joined his

GRAPE VINE BRIDGE, VA.—A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH

forces with those of Wise and Floyd at Lewisburg, while Rosecrans fell back to the Gauley.

A frightful Union disaster occurred in October. General McCall was directed to occupy Drainesville, about twenty miles northwest of Washington. General Stone was ordered to watch Leesburg, and he advanced to Edward's Ferry on the Potomac. Discovering what was believed to be a weak Confederate camp at Leesburg, he made preparations to attack it. Colonel Evans, the Confederate officer, seeing his danger, hurriedly concentrated his forces on the road from Leesburg to Washington, where he confidently awaited the assault.

On the morning of the 21st the Union troops were ferried over the river in three scows, a life-boat, and two skiffs. Reaching Leesburg, they discovered no Confederate camp, but the Unionists were furiously attacked by the enemy in the woods. Colonel E. D. Baker, of California, crossed the river with a supporting column of nineteen hundred men, and took command of the troops. He was killed, and the Unionists fled in a panic to the river. They rushed over the bluff and swarmed in such numbers into the boats that three of them were swamped. Most of the soldiers sprang into the river and swam desperately for the other bank. The Confederates shot and bayoneted scores, the Union loss amounting to more than a thousand men.

Union Disaster

Our attention, thus far, has been given to events in the east; but important movements took place in the west. Claiborne F. Jackson, governor of Missouri, was a secessionist, and did all he could to take the state out of the Union, despite the fact that the majority of the people were Unionists. The feeling, however, in St. Louis, the chief city, was strongly secession. The police commissioners, on the 6th of May, demanded of Captain Lyon, the Union commandant, that he remove his soldiers from all places in and about the city except the arsenal; but Lyon summoned the home-guard, composed mainly of loyal Germans, and marching out to the Confederate camp, captured more than a thousand prisoners. When the troops returned to the city they were attacked by a mob. The soldiers fired into the mob, and killed and wounded more than twenty rioters. In acknowledgment of his vigorous services, Lyon was made a brigadier-general of volunteers, and placed in command of all the Union troops in Missouri.

Affairs in the West

Governor Jackson, by proclamation, called out fifty thousand of

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the state militia to repel the invasion of Missouri by United States troops. Sterling Price, a major-general of the state forces, was dispatched to Booneville and Lexington, and on June 14 Jackson departed with the forces under Price. He was pursued by Lyon with two thousand men, and the Confederates were dispersed.

Defeat of General Sigel

Colonel Franz Sigel, a German, who had seen service in his own country, was driven back with eleven hundred men by a superior Confederate force under Rains and Parsons, near Carthage, in the southwestern part of the state. He managed his retreat with so much skill that he inflicted severe loss on the enemy, and continued to fall back until he reached Springfield, near which town he was joined by Lyon.

General Ben McCulloch, the Texan ranger, was commander of the Confederate army in Arkansas. He was reënforced by General Price, but retreated in a westerly direction to Cowskin Prairie, near the Indian frontier. Both sides received reënforcements, the Union troops being under the command of General John C. Fremont, who had been assigned to the department of the west. This included Missouri, Kansas, Kentucky, and Illinois. General Fremont's principal aides were General Pope in the north and General Lyon in the south.

The state convention of Missouri met at Jefferson City on the 22d of July, deposed Governor Jackson, and elected Hamilton R. Gamble, a Union man, in his place. Governor Jackson naturally refused to recognize this action, and the Richmond Congress admitted Missouri as a member of the Confederacy. Jackson issued a proclamation on the 5th of August, asserting that Missouri was no longer a member of the Federal Union.

Fremont placed Missouri under martial law on the 31st of August, and, in doing so, declared that the slaves of those who took part in the rebellion were free. It will be perceived that this was in reality an emancipation proclamation, which could come only from the President of the United States. President Lincoln knew that sooner or later that momentous edict would have to be issued, but the time had not yet arrived. Some of the most ardent supporters of the Union in the north were opposed to freeing the slaves, and needed further education from the "logic of events." There were others in the border states who would be driven into the Confederate ranks by such a declaration thus early in the struggle. The Presi-

Fremont's Emancipation Proclamation

dent sent a request to Fremont to modify that part of his proclamation relating to slaves. Fremont declined, and suggested that the President himself make the change, and he did so.

Three Confederate columns, led by Generals McCulloch, Price, and Pierce, and numbering nearly ten thousand men, most of whom were cavalry, and with fifteen pieces of artillery, advanced against General Lyon, who had seven thousand men and sixteen cannon. With this force, General Lyon marched out of Springfield, on the 9th of August, to meet the approaching enemy. Lyon led one column and Sigel the other. A violent storm had compelled the Confederates to go into camp at Wilson's Creek, where they were attacked by the Union troops early the next morning.

Death of General Lyon

The ground was so rough and wooded that the battle was fought without any system or plan. The Unionists had the advantage at first. General Lyon was wounded, but continued fighting, and placed himself at the head of the First Iowa regiment to meet a flank movement. He was cheering his men when he was shot dead.

The battle had been in progress but a short while when Sigel was informed that Lyon's column was advancing by an adjacent road. By direction of Sigel the Union flag was waved as a signal. The next minute the approaching troops, who were McCulloch's rangers, opened a destructive fire with their batteries, and followed it up with so much vigor that the Federals were driven into the woods and cut down by the Texas and Arkansas cavalry. The loss in killed, wounded, and missing was eight hundred.

The Union troops withdrew toward Springfield, which was soon evacuated. Major Sturgis and his men reached Rollo, where they had railway communication with St. Louis. Instead of pursuing, McCulloch fell back to the Arkansas frontier, while General Price, with the Missouri state troops, gave his attention to the Confederate matters in that state.

Colonel Mulligan Refuses to Surrender

On the 10th of September, Price, with four thousand men and several pieces of artillery, advanced against Warrensburg, where he learned that the Unionists were marching from Lexington toward the same point. The latter fell back to Lexington, and hastily threw up intrenchments under the command of Colonel Mulligan, whom Price ordered to surrender. Mulligan's reply was a refusal in terms so vigorous that it approached profanity.

Price attacked, and soon had the little band hemmed in on all

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

sides except toward the river. The Unionists fought with the utmost courage, but were so outnumbered that they were forced to surrender. Price moved to the southward, and Lexington was captured by the Unionists, October 16. The state legislature, sitting at Neosho, passed a secession ordinance; but the larger portion of Missouri was held by the Unionists from the first. The state was sorely harried by "jayhawkers,"* who robbed, killed, and plundered Unionists and Confederates indifferently as opportunity occurred. In no other portion of the country was the war between neighborhoods, households, and brothers waged with more relentless fury than in Missouri.

Missouri Desolated

General Fremont disappointed the high expectations of the friends of the Union. He was arbitrary, extravagant, and, though patriotic, had no special military ability. Major-General Hunter assumed temporary command in the west, November 2, and gave way to Major-General Halleck on the 18th. This left the principal portion of Fremont's forces under General Pope, who gave his attention to northwestern Missouri, where he captured a large body of troops on their way to join Price. Price retreated towards Arkansas, and Missouri was devastated by civil war in its most horrifying form.

The fate of Kentucky, another border state, was little better than that of Missouri. Governor Magoffin was a secessionist, and, as already stated, made the attempt to hold a position of neutrality in the struggle—a task as difficult as to suspend the law of gravitation. He demanded that President Lincoln should withdraw all Federal troops, and asked President Davis to respect the state's neutrality. Davis replied that he would do so, but only so long as Kentucky should maintain it. President Lincoln replied that he did not think there was a general wish in Kentucky that the United States troops should be withdrawn; he sympathized with Governor Magoffin's desire for peace, regretted that he had expressed no wish to see the Union maintained, and declined to remove the troops.

Action of Kentucky

The Kentucky legislature was strongly Union, and asked the governor to call out the state troops to repel invasion, and, if necessary, to ask help from the United States. The governor vetoed the reso-

*A name applied to the freebooting guerillas and border ruffians who in the free-soil conflict in Kansas, and during the Civil War, combined robbery, pillage, and murder in Missouri and neighboring states. The term is used in the west to designate a tarantula, or large, poisonous spider, whose attack is sudden, deadly, and unexpected, like that of the "jayhawker."

lution; but it was passed again; and, much against his will, he issued a proclamation, on the 30th of September, calling out forty-one thousand five hundred men.

End of Kentucky's "Neutrality"

A strong force of Confederate troops entered Kentucky under the command of General Leonidas Polk, a West Point graduate, and a bishop of the Episcopal church. Through his representations, the Confederate government decided to occupy the town of Columbus. General U. S. Grant was sent to the state from Cairo with a Union force; and thus ended Kentucky's "neutrality" in the war for the Union.

Major Robert Anderson had been made a general, and, crossing the Ohio, took possession of Louisville. The state troops co-operated with the Union forces. Albert Sidney Johnston, one of the ablest officers of the Confederacy, was placed in command of the western department, where were the forces of Polk and Zollicoffer.

To General Grant was assigned the charge of an expedition to open the Mississippi. This was a herculean task, for numerous batteries had been erected by the Confederates on both shores. Grant embarked from Cairo on the 6th of November with three thousand men, his objective point being Columbus, which, it will be remembered, had been occupied by Polk. It is about thirty miles from Cairo.

The Affair at Belmont

On the 7th, Grant landed his troops in the woods, two miles above the Confederate batteries, and advanced against Belmont, where the Confederates were under the command of General Pillow and Colonel Tappan. Polk was in doubt whether Belmont, on the Missouri side, or Columbus, on the Kentucky shore, was to be attacked. He finally decided that it was Columbus, and most of the Confederate troops were gathered there, a small force being left at Belmont. These were attacked and routed; but Polk hurried to their assistance, and so threatened Grant's position by a flank movement that he withdrew to his transports and retreated.

The secessionists in Kentucky elected their candidate, G. W. Johnson, governor. Delegates were sent to Richmond, and two senators for that state were sworn in and took their seats. It required all of President Lincoln's tact to hold the good will of the Unionists in Kentucky, for they condemned many of the arbitrary arrests made by the government in Louisville, and feared that it was the intention to arm the slaves. Tennessee, it will be remembered, had seceded, but there were many Unionists, especially in the eastern portion.

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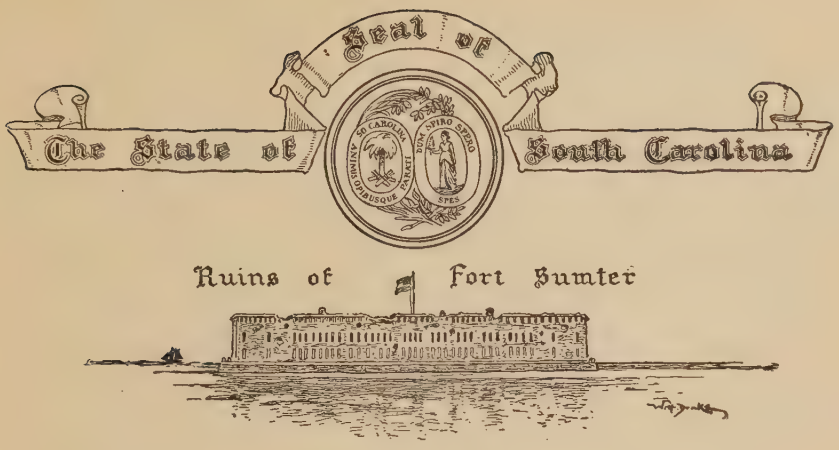
THE CIRCLE OF FIRE—BOMBARDMENT OF FORTS HATTERAS AND CLARK



CHAPTER III

EVENTS OF 1861 (CONCLUDED) ON THE COAST

[*Author's Note:* The hostility of England toward the North was shown on many occasions and in many ways. It was perhaps never more plainly exhibited than in her persistent attempts to secure for her manufacturers the cotton of the South by aiding and abetting the running of the blockade of the southern ports.

Our "English cousins" told us that "blood is thicker than water," but nothing is more certain than that English commercial considerations outweighed all remembrance of ancient kinship. Nothing could be conceived more utterly selfish than the course of England at times in her dealings with other nations when her own industrial interests were concerned. Authorities referred to for the events narrated in this chapter are Greeley's "American Conflict," Headley's "The Great Rebellion," and the papers of the Southern Historical Society.]

A Blockade Runner

THE war for the Union could not be pushed to a successful issue without enforcing a blockade of the southern ports. The Confederates needed supplies and munitions of war, which were obtainable only from England, France, and other foreign countries. There was comparatively little money in the South; but she had an abundance of cotton, which England was as eager to buy as she was to sell her own merchandise. "Cotton is king" was one of the frequent declarations, and many believed that when the supply was stopped, the sufferings of the thousands of operatives whose living depended upon the manufacture of goods from cotton would lead Great Britain to recognize the Southern Confederacy.

It will be understood how great was the temptation to foreign vessels to run the blockade. Any vessel that could get out from a

southern port with a cargo of cotton, and escape the alert blockaders, was sure of earning a large sum of money, especially if she could steal back with supplies for the Confederacy. There were three thousand miles of sea-coast and inlets to be guarded, and the national cruisers found plenty to do. The blockade-runners were built for speed; they were generally painted a leaden or neutral color, and their pilots were familiar with the intricate channels and passages that indent the Atlantic coast. When the night was dark or foggy, they would extinguish all their lights, and creep cautiously forward, on the watch for the blockaders. If the latter were too wide-awake, the runners would flee up the inlet, whither they could not be followed, and await another chance. Times without number, however, they succeeded in passing through the lines of the Union fleet and escaping to sea, and at daylight a faint column of smoke in the horizon showed where they were crowding all steam for some foreign port. Sometimes the faint puffing, or the swish of the paddles, betrayed the stealthy attempt of the blockade-runner to escape to sea in the stillness of the night, and then followed a desperate chase, lasting for hours. The runner might be able to show a "clean pair of heels," or she might be disabled by a shot from her pursuers, or overhauled in a fair race. The line of action was much the same on the return of the steamer, which lay off shore, or prowled up and down the coast, waiting for a favorable opportunity to dart into one of the inlets with her precious cargo.

Blockade Running

The Confederate ports from which the blockade was run were Galveston, Tex., Mobile, Ala., Charleston, S. C., and Wilmington, N. C. The last was the principal port, because it was more accessible, it having two channels leading into the port—the new and the old inlets. The old inlet, or southern entrance, was guarded by Fort Caswell and Fort Fisher, while the other was defended by Fort Fisher and a small battery on land. Both inlets led into Cape Fear river, on which is situated the city of Wilmington, twelve miles from its mouth. Cotton was bought in the Confederacy for twenty-five and thirty cents a pound in gold, and sold abroad for $1.60 to $1.80 per pound, thus affording enormous profits. Twice only during the war was the blockade of Wilmington run in the day time: once by the *Gibraltar*, under Captain Semmes, and once by the *Will o' the Wisp*, commanded by Captain Caper. The principal blockade-runners were built by Messrs. Laird, at Birkenhead.

Enormous Profits in the Sale of Cotton

Nassau was made rich by blockade-running. The cotton brought by the blockade-runners was here transhipped elsewhere, her aggregate exports and imports rising from $2,000,000 in 1860 to over $50,000,000 in 1866, in which year a terrific hurricane swept away her wealth. The run to Wilmington was made in two days and

A BLOCKADE RUNNER

nights, and from 600 to 1,200 bales of cotton were carried at a trip. The profits were so enormous that a few trips repaid an owner for the loss of his vessel. It has been estimated that out of sixty-six blockade-runners making regular voyages, forty were captured, destroyed, or wrecked, after more or less success. The round trip between Nassau and Wilmington brought the captain $5,000; the chief officer, $1,250; the second and third officers, $750; the chief engineer, $2,500; the pilot, $3,750, and the crew, $250 each. More than fifty

Abnormal Earnings

vessels made but a single voyage each; twenty-three made two; six made three; while two made ten voyages; and the champion successfully dodged the blockading fleet eighteen times.

The South, although her population and resources were much inferior to those of the North, was better prepared for the war. Many of her leading men knew that the struggle was to come sooner or later, and through a period of years they made their preparations. The secession members of President Buchanan's Cabinet strove to help the cause, and they did a great deal. When hostilities began, there were only ninety vessels in the United States navy; and of these, twenty-seven were out of commission, twenty-one were unfit for service, leaving forty-two in commission; and of these, only eleven, carrying one hundred and thirty-four guns, were in American waters. The rest had been scattered around the globe, or were in southern waters. The total number of officers of all grades in the navy, August 1, 1861, was fourteen hundred and fifty-seven. In addition, a large volunteer force was called for, and seventy-five hundred volunteer officers were enrolled before the close of the war. Three hundred and twenty-two officers resigned and entered the service of the Confederacy, of whom two hundred and forty-three were officers of the line. There were seventy-six hundred sailors in the navy, increased to fifty-one thousand five hundred before the end of the war.

Our Navy in 1861

The government began at once to increase its naval power. Merchant-vessels were bought and converted into war-vessels. Construction was begun on eight additional sloops-of-war, and numerous contracts were made for heavily armed gunboats. The latter were known as the "ninety-day gunboats," because they were begun and completed in that period. The same vigor was shown in the building of "double-end" side-wheel steamers for river and ocean service.

We have learned of the glorious record of the *Constitution*, or "Old Ironsides." She lay at Annapolis, and was used as a training-ship when hostilities began. To prevent her falling into the hands of the Confederates, she was guarded by General Butler's troops until she could be towed to New York.

Guarding "Old Ironsides"

This was the vessel of glorious memory that would have been sold some years before to the junk dealers had it not been for the effect of a poem entitled "Old Ironsides," written by Oliver Wendell

Holmes when a mere youth. The *Constitution*, with frequent repairs, was retained in active service until superseded by the modern naval vessels.

While nearly all of the posts in the south were captured by the Confederates at the beginning of the war, Fort Pickens, in Florida, never fell into their hands. Santa Rosa, a mile distant, was successfully attacked by the Confederates under General Anderson, October 7, but a dread that the Union steamers would cut off their retreat caused a hasty flight on the part of the victors. In retaliation, Colonel Browne, commandant of the fort, bombarded the Confederate works on the 22d of November. The *Niagara* and *Richmond* aided, but the result was indecisive.

The Hatteras Expedition

A formidable naval expedition of war-vessels and transports sailed from Hampton Roads, August 26. The fleet was under the command of Flag-Officer Silas H. Stringham, and the eight hundred and sixty soldiers and sailors were in charge of General Butler. The Confederate fortifications against which this expedition was aimed were at Hatteras Inlet, and consisted of Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark, on the southern end of Hatteras Island. Fire was opened on the forenoon of August 28. Captain Stringham, instead of anchoring, so as to allow the enemy to gain the right range, kept his four steamers (the *Minnesota*, the *Wabash*, the *Cumberland*, and the *Susquehanna*) circling about at varying distances. The plan was very successful. The Confederate gunners were driven out of Fort Clark, and the Union forces took possession.

At daybreak the next morning, a cannonade was opened upon Fort Hatteras, and soon became so tremendous that resistance was useless. Sometimes three shells exploded within the fort at the same instant, and frequently more than twenty landed in the space of a minute. The gunners fled in a panic to the bomb-proof chamber, and, while crowded there, an immense shell dropped among them. Instantly there was a frantic scramble to get out. Had the bomb exploded, a frightful loss of life must have followed, but fortunately the fuse died. It soon became certain that the powder-magazine would be pierced, in which event there would be no possible escape for the garrison. Accordingly, the white flag was run up in token of surrender.

Surrender of Fort Hatteras

Among the six hundred and fifteen prisoners was Captain Samuel Barron, their commander. They had four men killed and twenty odd

wounded, while no one was hurt on the fleet. The success was decisive and striking, but a great deal remained to be done.

A Second Expedition

A second and much more formidable expedition left Hampton Roads, on the 29th of October, with sealed orders. It included the powerful frigate *Wabash*, fourteen gunboats, thirty-four steam transports, and twenty-six sailing-vessels. There were ten thousand soldiers, under General Thomas W. Sherman, while the crews, numbering about twelve thousand, were directed by Commander Samuel F. Du Pont.

In order to deceive the Confederates as to their destination, the coal vessels were ordered to rendezvous off Savannah. They were caught in a severe storm near Cape Hatteras, in which four transports were lost, and two vessels were forced to throw their armament overboard and return to Fort Monroe. The fleet gradually came together again, and on the 4th of November lay off Port Royal.

The Destination

The destination was Beaufort, between Charleston and Savannah. Its capture would enable the government to maintain a fleet in the harbor of Port Royal.

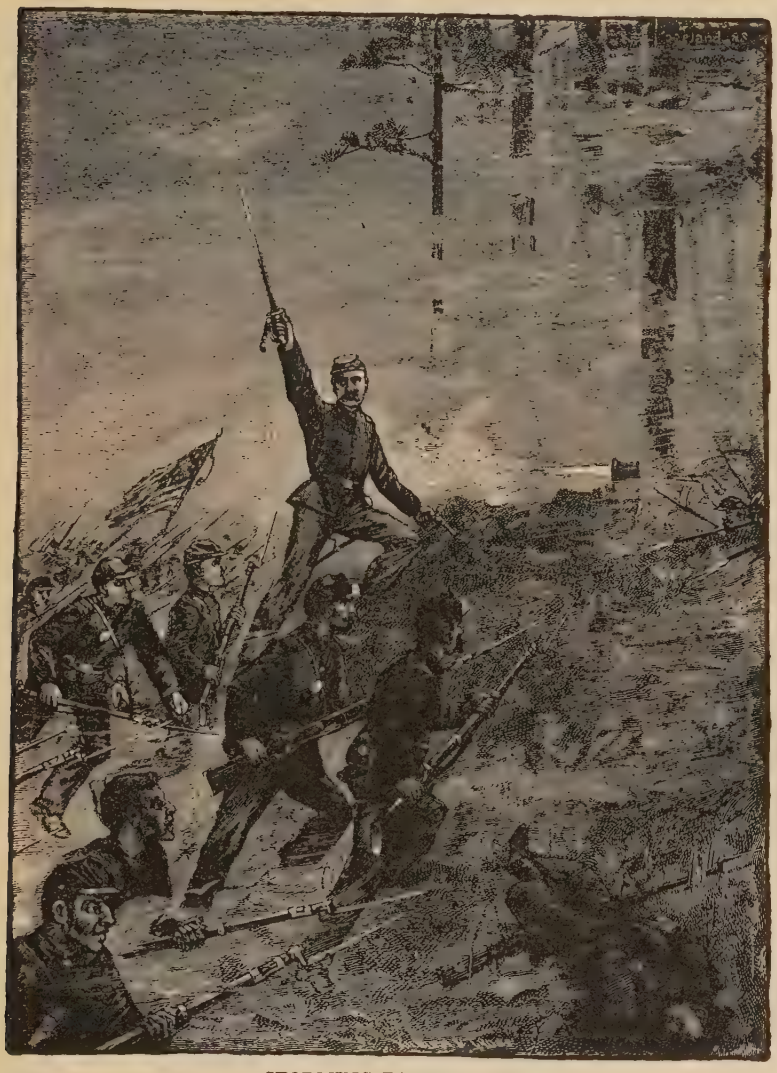
Beaufort lies among a number of marshy islands and lagoons, from which the Confederates had removed the usual landmarks and displaced the buoys. The harbor is two and a half miles wide, with Fort Walker at Hilton Head, on the southern shore, and Fort Beauregard on the northern shore. Captains Charles H. Davis and Boutelle, of the Coast Survey, spent three days under a hot fire from a Confederate fleet of five small steamers, in discovering the channel and restoring the buoys to their proper places. The lighter transports and gunboats, on the 7th, crossed the bar and anchored in the road-stead.

The Confederate naval force was commanded by Commodore Josiah Tattnall,* formerly of the United States navy. He was kept off, while the monster war-vessels, sweeping through immense ellipses between the two forts, delivered their crushing broadsides. General Ripley, the Confederate commander, replied, but the shot fell short. The Confederate gunboats were sent scurrying up Skull creek. The bombardment was maintained for four hours by the

A Union Success

*Josiah Tattnall commanded the famous iron-clad *Merrimac*, that steamed out of Norfolk and attacked the Union fleet in Hampton Roads. She was confronted on the second day by the *Monitor*, and compelled to withdraw, as stated elsewhere in the text.

Union fleet, and was very destructive. Most of the Confederate guns were dismounted or rendered useless, and the forts soon became untenable. The garrisons fled, and managed to get away with the

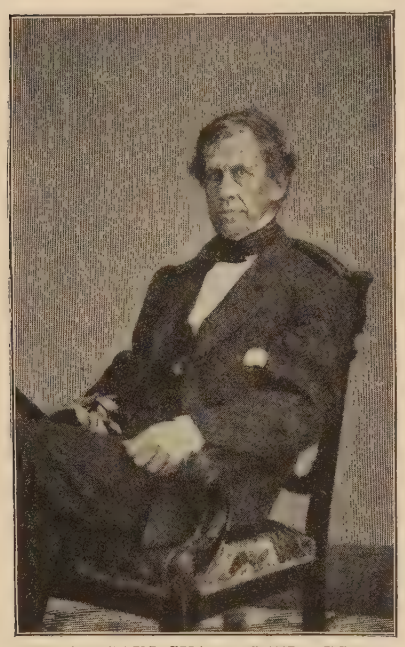


STORMING FORT CLARK

help of the steamers and gunboats that hastened to their aid. On the Union fleet there were but eight killed and twenty-three wounded. Forty-three guns were captured, and the forts were occupied by the

troops of General Sherman. The Confederate loss was eleven killed, forty-eight wounded, and four missing.

The success of the Unionists had been complete, and the government decided to close the harbor of Charleston by filling the channel with sunken vessels, as had been done at several other points. Forty-five cumbersome whaling-ships were loaded with stone, and on the 19th and 20th of December they were sunk; but the strong current soon swept away the obstructions, and left the channel as free as before.



CAPTAIN CHARLES WILKES

The Confederacy did its utmost to cultivate the good will of England and France, which, as has been stated, were anxious to see the American Union destroyed, but were afraid to act openly against it. They chose, instead, to use dishonorable methods. In the hope of securing favorable action by them, the Confederate government appointed John Slidell and James Murray Mason, both of whom had been United States Senators, commissioners respectively to the courts of London and Paris. They went from Charleston to Havana, from which city they sailed with their families and their secretaries, Messrs. Eustis and Macfarland, November 7, in the British mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes (formerly commander of the scientific and exploring expedition around the world in 1838-42), of the *San Jacinto*, stationed his steamer in the passage of the Old Bahama Channel, with the determination to intercept the *Trent* and take off the Confederate commissioners.

The Trent Affair

The official records of the Navy Department contain the following report of this affair by Captain Wilkes. Lieutenant James A. Greer referred to, long afterwards retired from the navy as an admiral. "On reaching Cienfuegos, I learned that Messrs. Slidell and

Mason had landed in Cuba and had reached Havana from Charleston. I took in some coal and left with all dispatch, on the 26th of October, to intercept the return of the *Theodora*; but on my arrival at Havana, on the 31st, I found she had departed on her return, and that Messrs. Slidell and Mason, with their secretaries and families, were there, and would depart on the 7th of the month in the English steamer *Trent* for St. Thomas on their way to England.

"I made up my mind to fill up with coal and leave the port as soon as possible, and to wait at a suitable position on the route of the steamer to St. Thomas to intercept her and take them out. On the afternoon of the 2d, I left Havana, in continuation of my cruise after the *Sumter* on the north side of Cuba. The next day, when about to board a French brig, she ran into us on the starboard side, at the main chains, and carried away her bowsprit and foretopmast, and suffered other damage. After taking the ship in tow, I proceeded to within sight of Havana, where we let her go. I then went over to Key West, in the hopes of finding the *Powhatan*, or some other steamer, to accompany me to the Bahama Channel, to make it impossible for the steamer in which Messrs. Slidell and Mason were to embark to escape either in the night or day. The *Powhatan* had left but the day before, and I was therefore disappointed, and obliged to rely upon the vigilance of the officers and crew of this ship; and, proceeding next morning to the north side of the island of Cuba, communicated with Sagua la Grande, on the 4th, hoping to receive a telegraphic communication from Mr. Shufeldt, our consul-general, giving me the time of the departure of the steamer.

Report of Captain Wilkes

"In this, also, I was disappointed, and ran to the eastward some ninety miles, where the Old Bahama Channel contracts to the width of twelve miles, some two hundred and forty miles from Havana, and in sight of the Paredon Grande lighthouse. There we cruised until the morning of the 8th, awaiting the steamer, believing that if she left at the usual time she must pass us about noon at the 8th, and we could not possibly miss her. At 11:40 A. M. on the 8th, her smoke was first seen; at 12 M. our position was to the westward of the entrance into the narrowest part of the channel, and about nine miles northeast from the lighthouse, the nearest point of Cuba to us.

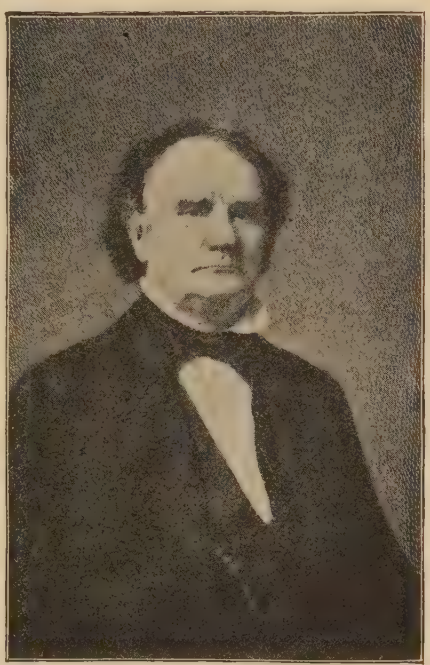
"We were all prepared for her, beat to quarters, and orders were given to Lieutenant D. M. Fairfax to have two boats manned and

From the Original Painting by Warren Sheppard

CAPTURE OF MASON AND SLIDELL

armed, to board her and make Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Eustis, and Macfarland prisoners, and send them immediately aboard.

"The steamer approached and hoisted English colors. Our emblem was hoisted, and a shot fired across her bow; she maintained her speed, and showed no disposition to heave to; then a shell was fired across her bow, which brought her to. I hailed that I intended to send a boat on board, and Lieutenant Fairfax, with the second cutter of this ship, was dispatched. He met with some difficulty; and remaining on board the steamer with a part of the boat's crew, sent her back to request more assistance. The captain of the steamer having declined to show his papers and passenger-list, force became necessary to search her. Lieutenant James A. Greer was at once dispatched in the third cutter, also manned and armed.



JAMES M. MASON

"Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Eustis, and Macfarland were recognized, and told they were required to go on board this ship. This they objected to, until an over-powering force compelled them. Much persuasion was used and a little force, and at about two o'clock they were brought on board this ship and received by me. Two other boats were then sent to expedite the removal of their baggage and some stores, when the steamer, which proved to be the *Trent*, was suffered to proceed on her way to the eastward; and at 3:30 we bore away to the north and westward. The whole time employed was two hours and thirteen minutes.

"It was my determination to have taken possession of the *Trent* and send her to Key West as a prize for resisting the search and carrying these passengers, whose character and objects were well known to the captain; but the reduced number of my officers and crew, and the large number of passengers on

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board bound to Europe, who would be put to great inconvenience, decided me to allow them to proceed.

"Finding the families of Messrs. Slidell and Eustis on board, I tendered them the offer of my cabin for their accommodation to accompany their husbands. This they declined, however, and proceeded in the *Trent*.

"Before closing this dispatch I would bring to your attention the notorious action of her Britannic Majesty's subjects, the consul-general of Cuba, and those on board the *Trent*, in doing everything to aid and abet the escape of these four persons, and endeavoring to conceal their persons on board. No passports or papers of any description were in possession of them from the Federal government, and for this, and other reasons which will readily occur to you, I made them my prisoners, and shall retain them on board here until I hear from you what disposition is to be made of them."

The North was thrown into joyous excitement by the news of this occurrence. The resentment against England was fierce. Captain Wilkes was banqueted in Boston; the House of Representatives passed a vote of thanks to him, and he was the nation's idol for the time.

An Unlawful Act

Nevertheless, the act of Wilkes was unlawful. He had done the very thing for which we went to war with Great Britain in 1812. The anger in that country was great, and threats of war were loud and deep. When, however, the fury had moderated, and an investigation was made, the truth was brought out that Captain Wilkes would have been justified in taking the *Trent*, with all on board, into an American prize port. Secretary Seward, however, instructed Minister Adams to notify the British government that Captain Wilkes had acted on his own responsibility, and the American government was prepared to discuss the proceedings in a friendly spirit. Since Wilkes had violated international law by deciding for himself the question whether the prisoners were contraband, instead of bringing the ship into port for adjudication in a prize court, we were compelled to release Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who were transferred to a British vessel which was waiting at Provincetown, whence they were taken, January 1, 1862, to England, in which country and France they were never able to render any special service to the Confederacy.

While the *San Jacinto* was awaiting the appearance of the *Trent*

A Daring Exploit

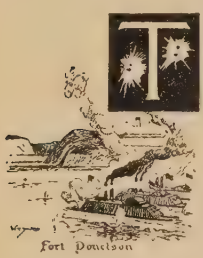
(November 7), Rear-Admiral James Edward Jouett, then a lieutenant, led one of those daring cutting-out expeditions for which the American navy has long been famous. The sailing frigate *Santee* was off Galveston, Tex., when Lieutenant Jouett offered to enter the harbor and sink the Confederate war-steamer *General Rusk* and the schooner *Royal Yacht*, the latter mounting one thirty-two pounder. He left the *Santee* just before midnight, with forty men in the first and second launches, and rowed into the harbor, heading for the *General Rusk*, which lay at a wharf some seven miles from the frigate. He passed the *Royal Yacht*, and was nearly to the *General Rusk*, when unfortunately he grounded, and the second launch crashed into him. The noise warned the Confederates of their danger, and they opened fire, while two or three steamers dashed out in pursuit. Since it was impossible to capture the *General Rusk*, Lieutenant Jouett made for the *Royal Yacht*. The launches were discovered when two hundred yards distant and hailed, but continued to advance at their utmost speed. At the moment the first launch ran alongside, the twelve-pound howitzer was fired, and sent a shell through the schooner at the water-line. The gunner leaped on deck at the same instant, and the recoil of the launch left him alone. The launch was forced alongside again; but just as Lieutenant Jouett boarded, he received a fierce thrust from a bayonet. Pluckily pulling the weapon from his side, he used it to knock down his assailant, and leaped to the help of the gunner. The fight was a savage one; but the thirteen men composing the crew of the *Royal Yacht* were finally forced into the launch, the *Royal Yacht* destroyed, and the prisoners safely delivered on board the *Santee*. The Confederate loss is not known, but that of the Unionists was one man killed, two mortally wounded, and four others wounded, besides two officers.

GRANT'S ATTACK ON FORT DONELSON

CHAPTER IV

EVENTS OF 1862—IN THE WEST

[*Author's Note:* The year 1862 is memorable in the War of the Rebellion chiefly because it brings out of obscurity the man of destiny, the chieftain who was to finish the war for the Union. One by one, the commanders to whom had been committed the control of the war had been found unequal to the demands made upon them. Out of the obscurity, the logic of events pushes the man of indomitable purpose, in whom the North speedily learns to trust—Ulysses S. Grant. His enemies said he was a butcher; that he cared nothing for the lives of his men. Napoleon had the same thing said of him; but he wept over the poor fellows whose death was the price of his victories. The victories won by Grant cost many lives—but they were victories, not defeats, as was the case with so many of the early commanders of our armies. The principal authorities are Greeley's "American Conflict," "Life of Jefferson Davis," by Pollard and Alfriend, and "Military and Naval History of the Rebellion."]



THE year 1862 was one of great battles and mighty campaigns. North and South were fully aroused, and each was confident of final triumph. It was American against American, among the bravest soldiers on earth, with skillful generals at the head of each army. Thus far the Southern forces had been the more successful, and naturally they were defiant and confident.

The task before the Union armies was a prodigious one. From beyond the Mississippi the South drew immense supplies of cattle and food for her troops in the field, and this great river had been closed by the numerous Confederate batteries. To open it all the way to the Gulf would be to lop off an invaluable portion of the Confederacy, and this was requisite to complete Union success.

The enforcement of the blockade of all Southern ports was another

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need, and we have already learned of the vigorous measures of the national government in that direction. But the most gigantic task of all was the invasion of the South and the destruction of her powerful armies. So long as they remained in the field, so long would the insurgents remain unconquered and the Union unrestored.

McClellan's Plan of Campaign

At the request of President Lincoln, General McClellan, upon being appointed successor of General Scott and commander-in-chief of the national armies, made a carefully prepared plan of operations and submitted it to the President. General McClellan's belief was that the decisive struggle would be fought out in eastern Virginia. It was necessary that this main campaign should be supported by others, and he urged an advance upon the Mississippi, and the expulsion of the Confederates from Missouri. About the only place in the South where there was a pronounced Union sentiment was in East Tennessee, which, it was urged, should be supported by a military movement, in which the railway lines leading eastward from Memphis should be seized. Troops should be equipped in western Virginia, Baltimore and Fort Monroe should be occupied, and a sufficient force kept within call of Washington to hold it secure. By capturing Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Montgomery, Pensacola, and Mobile, the Confederacy would be driven to the wall, and would see the hopelessness of further resistance.

Let us now study the military movements in the West, the first of which took place in Kentucky. General Halleck was in command of the western military district, with headquarters at St. Louis. By his orders, General Buell took possession of Somerset and Columbia, near the upper course of the Cumberland. There he was confronted by General Zollicoffer, who was at Mill Spring, on the southern bank of the river. Zollicoffer crossed to the northern bank, where he came under the command of General Crittenden. The united forces

Fighting in Kentucky

marched at midnight, January 18, to attack the Union camp ten miles away, which was under the command of General George H. Thomas, who was engaged in recruiting, and had gathered a considerable number of raw soldiers.

Thomas recoiled before the first assault; but he speedily rallied his men, and drove back his assailants in turn. The fighting was desperate, the combatants being so close that Zollicoffer was shot dead by a Federal officer with his revolver. The Union troops charged and chased the Confederates all the way to their intrench-

ments, from which they were driven and compelled to flee across the Cumberland. Their flight was a panic. They left behind their horses, wagons, artillery, and camp equipments. Crittenden continued his flight to Monticello, and then into Tennessee. He and his men, when they reached Gainesborough, were in a starving and freezing condition. This decisive victory brought eastern Kentucky under Union control, but the Confederates had a strong grip upon the western portion. Their line extended from Bowling Green on the right to Columbus on the left. The whole line was commanded by General Albert Sidney Johnston, who had improved his naturally strong position by building two forts—Fort Henry on the right bank of the Tennessee in Kentucky, and Fort Donelson on the left bank of the Cumberland, just within the limits of Tennessee. Opposed to Johnston was a Union army of one hundred thousand men under General Don Carlos Buell, in central Kentucky, though it was considerably scattered. In addition to this force, Grant had fifteen thousand men at Cairo.

A Decisive Union Victory

The garrison of Fort Henry consisted of the Fourth and Seventh Mississippi, the First Kentucky, a Louisiana regiment, and a cavalry company under the command of General Lloyd Tilghman. General Grant decided to attack this post, with the aid of the fleet under Captain Foote. The fleet, comprising the *Cincinnati*, the *Essex*, the *Carondelet*, the *De Kalb*, and the wooden gunboats *Conestoga*, *Lexington*, and *Tyler*, left Cairo on the morning of February 2. They were ordered, when approaching the fort, to keep in constant motion, so as to disarrange the enemy's fire, and also to hold their heavily protected bows pointed towards the fort.

On the 4th, the squadron anchored six miles above Fort Henry, and the troops were landed and posted so as to prevent reënforcements from reaching the garrison, and to shut off the latter from escape in the event of their surrender. General Grant and his staff went aboard the *Essex*, on the 5th, and ran close to the forts on a reconnaissance. While thus employed, a shot from the fort passed through the officers' quarters, whereupon the *Essex* dropped beyond range.

Attack on Fort Henry

The current was so powerful because of recent heavy rains that frequently both anchors and a full head of steam were necessary to hold some of the ironclads in position. The unusually high river was full of floating logs and trees, and the men were continually kept

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at work to free the vessels from them. It was tiresome labor; but the strong current swept away the numerous torpedoes which had been anchored in the river, and with which it was intended to destroy the Union fleet.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the *Cincinnati*, at the distance of about a mile, fired the opening shot. The fort immediately replied with shells from rifled cannon. The ironclads approached to within a fourth of a mile, and kept up a strong fire. For a time the aim of the Confederates was the more accurate, since they had plenty of time in which to obtain the precise range; but the gunboats soon made their shots effective, and the walls of the fort were knocked to pieces by the shell and solid shot.

A Shocking Accident

A shocking accident occurred early in the afternoon. A shot penetrated the armor of the *Essex*, killed the acting master's mate, and entered the middle boiler. On the instant the forward gun-room was filled with superheated steam. Some of the crew ran aft, others sprang through the ports into the river, Commander Porter succeeding by a narrow margin in saving his life. He was seriously hurt, and was rescued from the water by a sailor. Twenty-eight men were frightfully scalded, most of whom died. Both pilots were killed in the pilot-house. The *Essex* floated helplessly down stream, but the others bravely kept up the fight. Two of the Confederate guns were disabled, and soon after one o'clock in the afternoon the fort surrendered.

General Tilghman saw from the first that surrender was inevitable, and he accordingly made preparations to flee across the country to Fort Donelson. The number of prisoners secured, therefore, was only seventy-eight, while two thousand five hundred and fifty-eight reached Fort Donelson, before the submission of Fort Henry.

Attack on Fort Donelson

An attack was now directed against the enemy's line of defense at Fort Donelson, a strong work on a bluff, one hundred and twenty feet above the level of the Cumberland river, and twelve miles overland from Fort Henry. Its garrison numbered fifteen thousand men, under Generals Gideon J. Pillow and Simon B. Buckner. The defenses included three batteries: the first some twenty feet above the water; another, thirty feet higher; while the third battery was at the top of the bluff.

On February 12 the *Carondelet* was towed to a point a few miles

A BATTERY ON DRILL. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH IN CIVIL WAR TIME

below the fort, and then, casting loose, steamed forward to engage the works. About a dozen shells were thrown into the fort; but no response followed, whereupon the *Carondelet* dropped three miles below, and anchored.

A Narrow Escape

The cause of the silence of the garrison was that they were anxiously watching the land movement of General Grant with a large body of troops. The next morning, at his request, the *Carondelet* again steamed up stream and renewed her attack. The enemy answered, but did little damage, while the gunboat killed an officer and inflicted much damage. After a time a one hundred and twenty-eight pound solid shot pierced the *Carondelet's* casemate on the port side. One of the engineers said: "In its progress towards the center of our boilers, the shot glanced over the temporary barricades in front of them, and then passed over the steam drum, struck the beams of the upper deck, carried away the railing around the engine-room, and burst the steam heater; and then, glancing back into the engine-room, seemed to bound after the men like a wild beast pursuing its prey. * * * When it burst through the side of the *Carondelet,* it knocked down and wounded a dozen men. An immense quantity of splinters was blown through the vessel; some of them, as fine as needles, shot through the clothes of the men like arrows."*

The *Carondelet* retreated for a short time to repair damages, and then renewed and continued the fight until the close of day. Flag-Officer Foote arrived with his gunboats about midnight. The following morning was occupied in making ready for the attack from the river. The Confederate batteries were so high that the upper decks of the ironclads were exposed to plunging shot, but such additional means of defense as could be improvised were used.

Shelling the Batteries

Early in the afternoon the four ironclads steamed up the river, almost abreast, while the two wooden gunboats took station half a mile astern. When within a mile of the batteries, Captain Foote opened fire, but his first shots fell short. Soon, however, he dropped his shells with great accuracy. The vessels steadily approached until the intervening distance was less than a fourth of a mile, when the shots became more rapid and destructive.

The firing of the Confederate batteries was very effective. The ironclads were repeatedly pierced, and much damage was done; but although the *St. Louis* was struck more than fifty times, only one

*Rear-Admiral Walker: "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War."

shot penetrated her mail. That exploded in the pilot-house, killing the pilot, and inflicting a wound upon Captain Foote. Another shot cut her rudder-ropes, and she drifted out of action. The total loss on the gunboats was eleven killed and forty-three wounded.

Meanwhile, General Grant was doing effective work with his

COUNCIL OF WAR BEFORE SURRENDER OF FORT DONELSON

Grant's Effective Work

troops. He invested the entire Confederate left, with the exception of a swampy tract near the river. The weather, which had been mild, now became intensely cold. The men on both sides suffered severely, a number freezing to death. On the following morning, before daybreak, the Confederates in their desperation attempted to cut their way out. Grant was down the river consulting with Commodore Foote. Hurrying back, he ordered an advance of the whole line, requesting the gunboats to give at the same time what help they could. The Union troops drove back the enemy at every point.

That night was an anxious one in Fort Donelson. At the council

"NO TERMS EXCEPT UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER"

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of war it was agreed that surrender was all that was left; but General Floyd declared that he would die before submitting to the Federals. Pillow felt the same way, though both officers overestimated their importance. The two decided that, no matter what happened, they must manage to escape. General Buckner was disgusted; but he agreed to remain and conduct the surrender. Floyd secretly crossed the river with his brigade, and Pillow passed over in a scow. Most of the cavalry galloped off by the lower road to Nashville.

"Unconditional Surrender"

At daybreak, as Grant was about to give the order for assault, a flag arrived from Buckner, proposing an armistice until noon that day in order to arrange terms of capitulation. The reply instantly went back: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

This answer was a happy one. The initials of "Unconditional Surrender" are the same as those of General Grant's given names, from which fact he was often referred to afterwards as "Unconditional Surrender Grant." Buckner declared the demand ungenerous; but when he learned that the prisoners would be allowed to keep their personal baggage, and the officers to retain their side-arms, he expressed his thanks for the chivalry shown to him and his troops.* The prisoners numbered fifteen thousand, the greatest number that up to that time had been surrendered in any military engagement in this country.

President Davis was so angered by the cowardly course of Floyd that he deprived him of a command, and General Pillow's military career terminated.

This was the first important Union victory of the war, and caused unbounded rejoicing throughout the North. It was the beginning of General Grant's popularity, which steadily increased to the close of the war.

A Decisive Union Victory

One effect of this decisive victory was to break up the whole Confederate line and push it far back into Tennessee. General Albert Sidney Johnston had withdrawn from Bowling Green to Nashville, but evacuated it on learning of the fall of Donelson, and the city passed into the hands of General Mitchell with a division of Buell's army. General Johnston finally took position near Murfrees-

*Years afterwards, when General Grant was overtaken by financial misfortune, one of the first of his many friends to offer assistance was General Buckner, who was also a pall-bearer at his funeral.

boro, Tenn. Thus the whole northern portion of the state, including the Cumberland, was abandoned by the Confederates. General Polk withdrew from Columbus, on the Mississippi, and formed a new line of defense forty miles south, near New Madrid. Columbus was occupied the next day by the Union cavalry from Paducah, followed shortly by Commodore Foote's gunboats.

The New Confederate Line

The new Confederate line of defense placed New Madrid at the left, where Polk was stationed; Beauregard at Jackson, Tenn., made the center; while Johnston, in chief command, at Murfreesboro, was the right.

Three days after the fall of Fort Donelson, the electoral vote for the Confederate presidency was counted. Jefferson Davis was unanimously re-elected, with Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. They were inaugurated at Richmond on Washington's birthday. In his address, the President referred to the reverses in the southwest, and urged that they should stir all to greater efforts and sacrifices in the cause of Southern independence.

General Grant did not rest content with his brilliant success, but he and General Buell prepared to strike other vigorous blows against the enemy, whose possession of Island No. 10 on the Mississippi made it necessary for the Confederates to hold New Madrid on the Missouri shore.

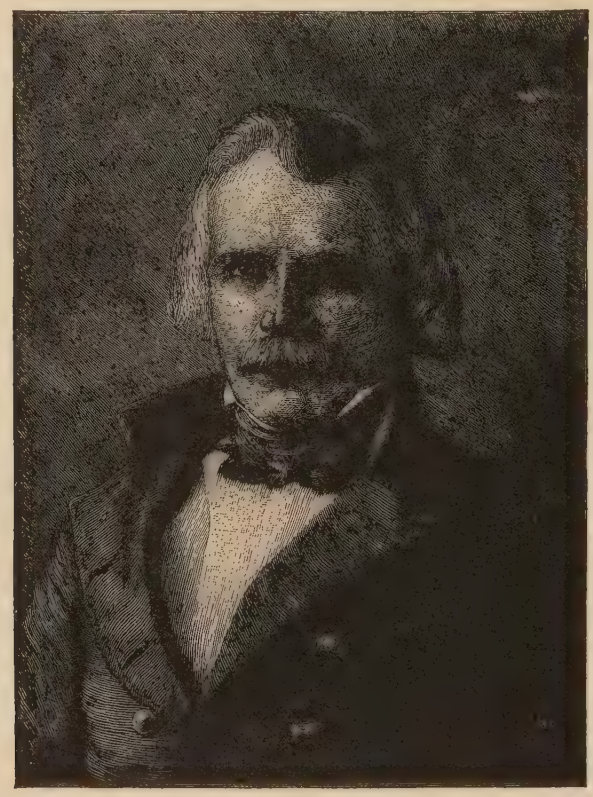
Johnston Plans a Campaign

General Johnston determined not only to maintain this shorter and more powerful line, but to crush the Union army in Tennessee, recover the lost ground, and resume the offensive. He left a garrison to hold Island No. 10, and then ordered the divisions under Generals Beauregard, Bragg, Hardee, and Breckinridge to march to Corinth, from which point it was intended to advance to Pittsburg Landing and crush Grant's army, recapture Fort Henry and Fort Donelson before they could be reënforced, and then invade the North. It was a brilliant scheme, and the man who planned it was one of the most brilliant officers in the Confederate army.

After the fall of Nashville, General Grant descended the Tennessee with his army to Pittsburg Landing, which occupies a bluff extending back to a plateau half a mile in extent, and is eighty feet high. General Buell moved toward the same point overland, the two armies thus being separated. Johnston set out from Corinth for Pittsburg Landing on the 3d of April. His army was forty thousand strong, divided into three corps and a reserve. The advance

was so slow that this formidable body did not reach the neighborhood of the Union camp, about a dozen miles distant, until the afternoon of the 5th.

The national troops were encamped in the form of a semi-circle just above Pittsburg Landing, both wings resting near the river, with



GENERAL ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

the center curving out five miles from the banks. About daybreak, on the morning of the 6th, Hardee's corps attacked the Union center with great fury, the aim being to overwhelm it, and then sweep round and assail each wing in the rear. The assault was a surprise to the Union troops; and though the division of General Prentiss, which held the center, and received the first shock, resisted desperately, it was forced back, until by the middle of the forenoon, the Confederates had captured three regiments, and made General Prentiss a

Union Troops Surprised

GRANT'S ARRIVAL ON THE BATTLEFIELD

prisoner, and were in possession of the camp. The enemy then turned to destroy the wing under General Hurlburt, protecting the stores at Pittsburg Landing, and had nearly succeeded, when an unforeseen occurrence interposed at the critical moment, and averted an irretrievable disaster.

Battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing

While the fighting was in progress, the *Tyler* and the *Lexington* were steaming up and down the river, looking for a chance to get in a blow. A lull intervened, during which the Confederates massed their forces for a charge, which promised to be resistless. The *Tyler* meanwhile silenced a battery, and then dropped down to the landing opposite Pittsburg, where the *Lexington* joined her. The two took a position commanding a gully, across which the Confederates must pass in their final charge, and awaited the critical moment. The enemy dashed from cover and swarmed down the ravine on their way to crush the Unionists. Then the gunboats swept the narrow valley with a cyclone of shot and shell. The enemy struggled with desperate bravery, but could not face the tempest of death, and they gradually fell back beyond reach of the gunboats.

When the battle opened, Grant was on the opposite side of the river, consulting with Buell. Making all haste back, he came upon what looked like a hopelessly beaten army, the Unionists having been driven out of their camps to the verge of the bluff, where the only choice seemed to be surrender or destruction.

It was at this juncture that General Johnston was struck in the knee by a ball that shattered his leg and severed a large artery. His aides lifted him from his horse, and he died almost immediately.

Defeat of the Confederates

Beauregard succeeded to the command, and most of his men busied themselves in plundering the captured camps. Seeing little chance of accomplishing anything more that day, he ordered the several divisions to withdraw. That night General Lew Wallace arrived with five thousand men, and three divisions of Buell's army, numbering more than twenty thousand, crossed the river. This gave Grant a force of fifty thousand, while the Confederates were so disorganized by their successes that they could not muster more than thirty thousand on the following morning. Grant had thoroughly prepared himself, and at daylight advanced to the attack. It was cold and rainy, but the troops were full of ardor, and steadily forced the Confederates before them. General Wallace, in his story of this battle says: "Step by step, from tree to tree, position to position, the Confederate

lines went back, never stopping again. The firing was grand and terrific. To and fro, now in my front, then in Sherman's, rode General Beauregard, inciting his troops, and fighting for his fading prestige of invincibility. Far along the lines to the left the contest was raging with equal obstinacy. As indicated by the sounds, the enemy were retreating everywhere."

The battle of Pittsburg Landing was the first really great engage-

DEATH OF ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

ment of the war, and was among the most desperately fought of all the conflicts. The total number engaged was nearly 100,000, of whom 1,735 were killed, 7,882 wounded, and 4,044 missing on the Union side; and 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 missing of the Confederates. The Federals profited much by this victory, and were now strongly posted on the upper portion of the Tennessee.

Union and Confederate Losses

Before making his effort to destroy the Union army, General Johnston left a strong force to hold Island No. 10. The earthworks on the island were from twelve to fifteen feet thick, and mounted two ten-inch columbiads, four eight-inch guns, five thirty-two pounders,

and five sixty-four pounders. Thirty heavy guns were mounted opposite on the Kentucky shore, and a floating battery of sixteen guns was anchored just below the first battery on Island No. 10. Hulks had been sunken in the northern channel, so that all vessels had to pass on the southern side, within easy range of sixty large guns. New Madrid was at the bend above, fortified and held by several thousand troops, so that Island No. 10 was guarded on the Missouri side, while below, on the eastern bank, were planted batteries to prevent a force from crossing at that point. The land approaches on the south were guarded by impassable swamps.

Island No. 10

A combined land and naval attack was made on Island No. 10 by Colonel Buford and Captain Foote, March 16, and continued in an aimless way until the 26th. Meanwhile, General Pope, with two thousand men, edged around the Confederate position, and by blockading the river below Point Pleasant he forced the enemy to evacuate New Madrid. They were then shut in on three sides, a dense swamp being on the east, while the Mississippi imprisoned them on the north and west. General Pope's wish was to close the southern opening; but he could not do so without the aid of the gunboats.

The latter were all above the point, so that, if disabled, they would drift directly in front of the Confederate batteries. It was deemed too dangerous to attempt to run these, and it was decided to cut a canal from Island No. 8 across the swamps to New Madrid, through which the ironclads might pass below the fortifications. This canal was finished in less than three weeks, with the result that not a gunboat could go through, and only one or two of the lightest transports.

In this emergency, Captain Henry Walke, of the *Carondelet*, volunteered to run the batteries. The effort was deemed so nearly hopeless that at the council of officers every other man opposed it. On the night of the 4th of April, which was of inky darkness, with a drenching rain, and amid a furious fire from the batteries, whose gunners traced the *Carondelet* by the flashes of lightning, the daring exploit was accomplished without the loss of a man.

A Gallant Exploit

This destroyed all hope of holding Island No. 10, for it was easy for General Pope to cross the river and cut off the supplies and the retreat of the garrison. Two nights later, the *Pittsburg* also ran the batteries. The Union troops at New Madrid and Point Pleasant crossed to the eastern shore. On the 8th of April, Captain Foote

and General Pope received the surrender of Island No. 10, including five thousand men.

About this time, the government purchased a number of river steamers and fitted them up as rams. Seven joined the squadron under Captain Davis above Fort Pillow in the latter part of May. Fort Pillow was evacuated by the Confederates on the 4th of June, and the next day the squadron dropped down the river to a point two miles above Memphis. On the 6th it advanced to the attack of the enemy's vessels, which were drawn up in double line of battle opposite the city. The Union ironclads also formed in line of battle. The bluffs were swarming with people, gathered to witness the thrilling sight.

A Thrilling Spectacle

It will be remembered that General Fremont, in declaring martial law in Missouri, had proclaimed the freedom of the negro slaves, and that President Lincoln had revoked this part of Fremont's order. There was therefore as yet no formal or official action freeing the slaves. Nevertheless the conviction grew that the war would result in freedom for the negroes. The slaves, therefore, had come to look upon the northern soldiers as their deliverers, and so hailed them wherever they appeared in the South. As the Union armies gradually forced the opening of the Mississippi river, they were greeted with great rejoicing by the slave population.

The *Queen of the West* and the *Monarch* steamed past the Confederate ironclads at full speed and charged the vessels, the *Queen of the West* selecting the *General Lovell*, near the middle of the enemy's line of battle. The *General Lovell* advanced to meet her, and a mutually destructive collision seemed inevitable; but suddenly the *General Lovell* swerved and headed in shore. The *Queen of the West* smashed into her with such terrific momentum that the Confederate was cut nearly in two, and disappeared in a few minutes.

Before the *Queen of the West* could shake off the wreck, she was rammed on the right and on the left, the shock carrying away one of her paddle-boxes. With the remaining wheel, however, she limped to the Arkansas shore, where she grounded.

A curious accident followed. The *Monarch*, closely following the *Queen of the West*, selected her target, and was making for it at full speed, when two Confederate boats charged her from opposite sides. They underestimated the speed of the *Monarch*, which shot ahead like an arrow; and instead of serving as a buffer for the two boats of

A Miscalculation

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the enemy, she slipped out of the way, while the latter crashed into each other with great force. One of the Confederate boats ran ashore near the *Queen of the West*, and the *Monarch* headed for the other, which turned down the river; but a few minutes later a shot

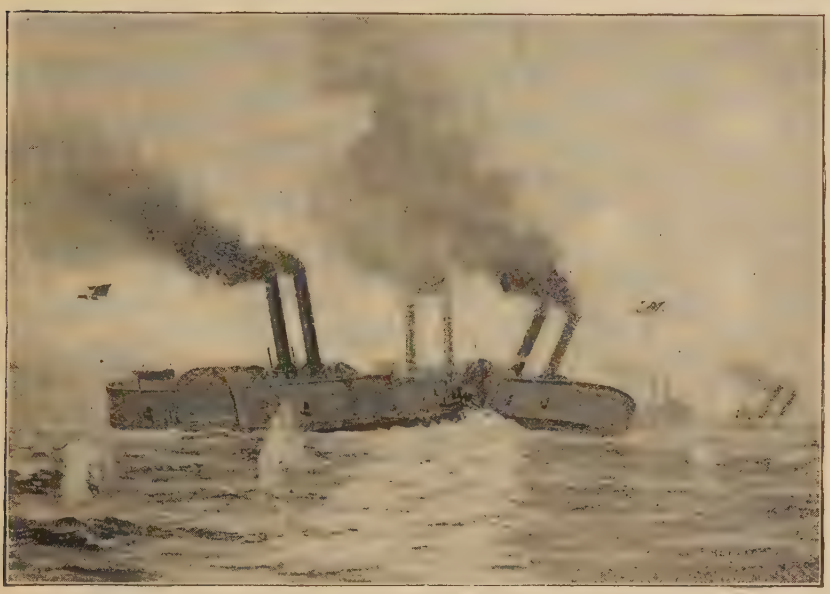
"DE DAY OB JUBILEE"

Confederates Lose Two Vessels

passed through the boiler of the Confederate and caused her to sink. Another boat of the enemy was disabled by a shot in her steam-chest, and drifting against the Arkansas bank, her crew made their

escape. The rest of the Confederate fleet now fled down the river, and were pursued for a dozen miles, with the result that only one vessel escaped, seven being destroyed or captured. Four of the captures were repaired and added to the Union fleet. The city of Memphis surrendered the next day.

General Price spent the winter of 1861-62 in Springfield, Mo.,



A CURIOUS ACCIDENT

where he gained many recruits and supplies. He was attacked, February 12, by the armies of Generals Curtis and Sigel, and retreated to the frontiers of Missouri, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory. Finding himself still in danger, he pushed southward to the Boston Mountains, where he united with McCulloch. Later he was joined by General Earl Van Dorn and Albert Pike, the latter of whom brought two thousand Indians with him.

The Confederate army was now so strong that its leaders determined to attack General Curtis, whose army was in the vicinity of Sugar Creek, south of Pea Ridge, the right commanded by General Sigel, the left by General Carr, and the center by General Jefferson C. Davis. Sigel was attacked March 6. He was surprised and nearly cut off, but no officer ever understood more perfectly the science of retreating than this German. He disentangled himself

Battle of Pea Ridge

and joined the main army, while Curtis, afraid that the road in the rear would be seized, shifted his front, so as to face northwest and with his line across Pea Ridge.

In this position, the Union army received the impetuous assault of the enemy, who pushed back the left wing. The Confederates occupied the ground they had won, and the Union army took a new position about a mile to the rear. The peril of the Union army was grave, for the overlapping of the right wing threatened its communications with Missouri. McCulloch attempted to form a junction with Van Dorn and Price, and Sigel sought to check him with a detachment, which was dispersed by a cavalry charge and placed for a time in great danger; but the arrival of Davis retrieved the ground lost, and shattered the Confederate right, during which two of their best leaders, McCulloch and McIntosh, were killed.

Van Dorn made his headquarters, on the night of the 7th, near the ground formerly held by General Carr, while Curtis at the same time placed Carr in the center and Davis on the right, Sigel remaining on the left. The first necessity was to drive the Confederates out of a range of wooded hills. In the morning, under cover of his artillery, Sigel threw his infantry regiments forward and threatened the position of the enemy. The fighting for two hours was desperate, but the Confederate batteries were silenced, and their troops steadily withdrew into the open ground beyond. Then the Union center and right charged, the Confederate left was turned, the center broken, and the enemy fled among the woods of Cross Timber Hollow. The Union troops recovered their communications, and the Confederates were decisively defeated.

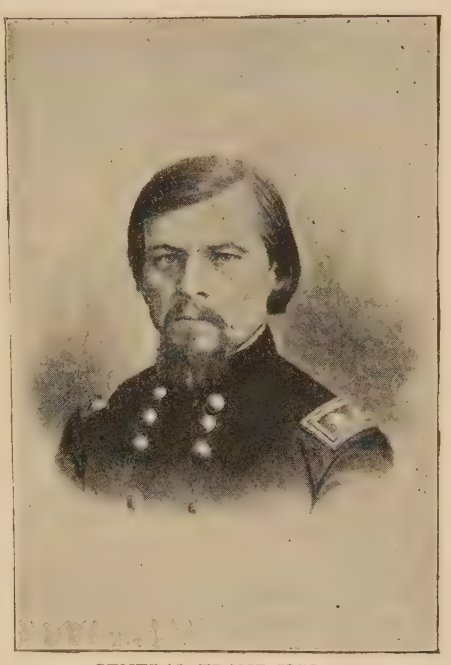
Defeat of the Confederates

On the following day, Van Dorn sent a request for permission to bury his dead. The request was granted, but Curtis complained that the enemy's Indian allies had tomahawked, scalped, and mangled the bodies of the fallen Union soldiers. Van Dorn expressed the hope that this was misinformation, and added that the Indians with him had been civilized for years. He, in turn, charged the Germans with committing barbarities, while Sigel was equally bitter in his complaint that his countrymen had been brutally used. It was afterwards alleged that at Pea Ridge, Albert Pike's Indians were impartial, and as vigorous in scalping their friends as their enemies.

Mutual Recriminations

They were so unmanageable that their services were worthless, and they were employed no more.

The Confederates now retreated northward to reorganize. Curtis was reënforced from Kansas and Missouri, and remained at Keetsville for the rest of the month. Learning that Price was advancing upon Springfield, Mo., he moved forward to meet him; but nothing resulted, and Curtis withdrew into Arkansas, establishing himself at Batesville. In this position, Curtis after a time found himself in serious peril. His supplies ran low, and he was in the midst of a hostile country. The apprehensions for the Union army led to the fitting out of an expedition at Memphis in June to descend the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas, and thence to pass up the White river to Batesville. The attempt was a failure; but early in July supplies reached Curtis by land from Missouri. He marched from Batesville to Jacksonport, and finally took post at Helena. He was made commander of the department of Missouri, including that state, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory.



GENERAL FRANZ SIGEL

Confederate Aims Defeated

The aim of the Confederates was to penetrate Missouri and recover their power north of Arkansas. Numerous skirmishes and considerable fighting followed, but all the attempts were defeated.

General Joseph E. Johnston stated to the writer, some years afterward, that at the opening of the war he urged that the Confederacy should make no fight in Missouri and Arkansas, but concentrate the fifty thousand men or more, whose efforts were wasted in that section, on the east of the Mississippi. President Davis, who was never very friendly to Johnston (owing to a quarrel ante-

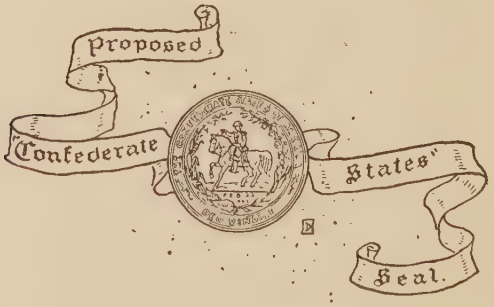
dating the war), overruled him. Subsequent events proved that General Johnston was right in his views.

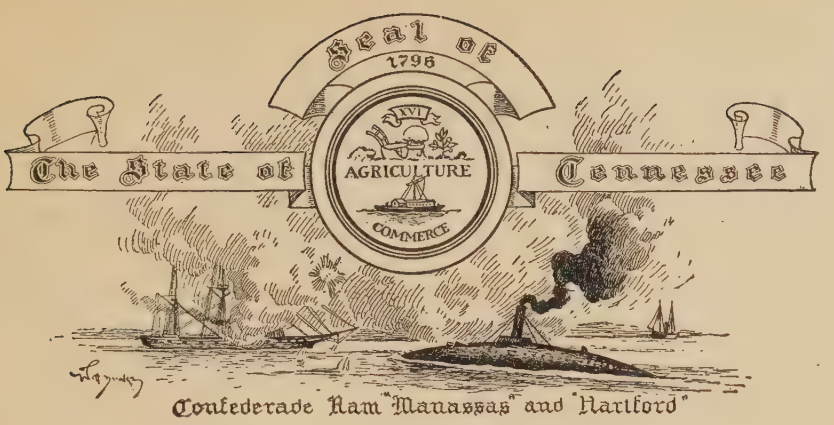
Hostilities in New Mexico

There was fighting as far westward as New Mexico, where the battle of Valverde was fought February 21. General Sibley commanded a small force of Texans, while Colonel Canby was in charge of Fort Craig. Sibley advanced from Messilla, Ariz., and when within thirty miles of Fort Craig, Colonel Canby marched out to meet him, but not finding him, returned. Two thousand Confederates soon afterward appeared in front of the fort, but did not attack. A squad of cavalry, under Major Duncan, was sent out to harass them. The Texans retreated down the Rio Grande valley to Valverde, where they took position. The Union troops crossed the river with a battery of six pieces and two mountain howitzers and attacked them. The fighting was severe, and continued nearly all day. After repeated efforts and much loss of life, the Texans succeeded in capturing the battery. A number of New Mexicans on the Federal side fled in a panic; every gunner was shot down, and the battery was turned upon the Union troops, who retreated in confusion.

A Valueless Victory

Colonel Canby, with a loss of sixty-two killed and one hundred and forty wounded, withdrew to Fort Craig, where he was undisturbed, the enemy being too much weakened to attack. Valverde was a Confederate victory; but Sibley declared the value of New Mexico to the Confederacy was not worth one-half what it cost.





CHAPTER V

EVENTS OF 1862 (CONTINUED)
IN THE WEST (CONCLUDED)

[*Author's Note:* The celebrated general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, remarked that the most successful military commanders have usually been those who have been placed at once at the head of an army, without being required to spend much time in inferior positions. This statement was not realized in many cases among the Northern generals during the War of the Rebellion. Most of them, it is true, had inferior positions during the Mexican War, but nearly all of them were placed at once in charge of armies, and nearly all of them failed. General Grant is almost the only notable exception. The South, however, was more fortunate in experiments of this kind. Political manipulation of the army previous to secession was in part responsible for this fact. The names of many Southern generals of whom the prince's remarks are true will occur to the reader. The authorities for this period, in addition to the many well-known histories, are the "Army of the Cumberland," and Tenney's "Military and Naval History of the Rebellion."]

The Captured Train.

GENERAL HALLECK was in St. Louis when news reached him of the Union victory at Pittsburg Landing, and he set out for that point. He was dissatisfied with the way matters had gone, and meant to take charge himself. He allowed Grant, however, to remain second in command.

The Union army was speedily reënforced. Pope came from before Memphis with twenty-five thousand men, and in a short time the Federal troops numbered one hundred thousand men. In May, Halleck began cautiously to advance against Beauregard at Corinth, and on the 21st of May was within a few miles of the town. Beauregard, whose force was much inferior, destroyed all property of value and evacuated the place,

which was occupied by Halleck on the 30th. Beauregard retreated to Tupelo, fifty miles to the south. Halleck's advance could have been made with equal safety and effect a month earlier.

By the close of summer General Bragg was in command of a Confederate army numbering sixty thousand men. Kirby Smith with his corps was at Knoxville, while the troops of Hardee and Polk were with Bragg at Chattanooga. They were directed to march to Louisville, threatening Cincinnati on the way. Smith went almost across Kentucky, and Cincinnati was thrown into a panic by his approach. While preparations were hurriedly making for its defense, Smith turned to the southwest at Cynthiana and united with Bragg at Frankfort.

GENERAL DON CARLOS BUELL

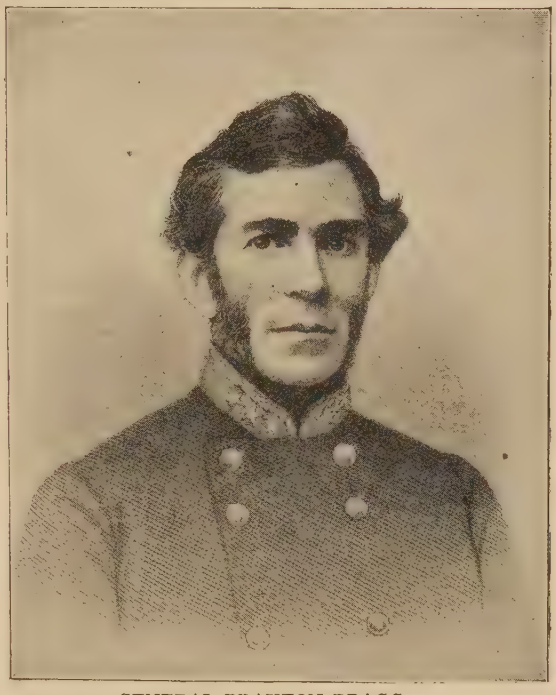
General Buell was near Nashville with a strong Union army, and seeing that Louisville was in danger, started with all haste thither. Immediately a race began between the two armies for the prize, for the first to arrive was certain to capture it. The chances were even, and a slight advantage would decide which was to be the fortunate winner of the city. Upon reaching Bardstown on Salt river, Bragg found the bridge in flames. The delay of a few hours made him the loser. Buell reached Louisville, September 25, where reënforcements joined him until his command reached fully one hundred thousand men.

Withdrawal of Bragg

Finding that he had been frustrated, Bragg marched to Frankfort, where he inaugurated Thomas Hawes as provisional governor of Kentucky, and enforced a conscription law, but gained only a few recruits. The Confederate army had entered into a land of wonderful fertility, the like of which they had probably never seen. There seemed to be no end to the supplies of which they stood in need, and

they foraged to such an extent that in the forty-mile wagon-train were eight thousand beeves, fifteen hundred mules, six thousand barrels of pork, two hundred wagon-loads of bacon, ten thousand hogs, a million yards of jeans, and an immense amount of clothing.

Learning that Buell was approaching, Bragg set out to withdraw through the Cumberland Mountains into Tennessee. The principal Confederate army was overtaken on the road between Lebanon and Harrodsburg. Bragg's headquarters were at Harrodsburg, where the two roads join, upon which he had posted his forces in two bodies nearly equal, twenty miles from each other. General Polk, with his three divisions on the road from Lebanon to Bardstown, was ordered to give the Union army battle at Perryville.



GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG

Buell, who was advancing from the west, did not suspect he was so near the enemy, and was taken by surprise. When Polk caught sight of the approaching Union army, he hurled his infantry against it. Buell's front line was composed of raw troops, who broke, but the others stood firm. Reënforcements were hurriedly brought up, and the opposing armies were about equal in numbers. Polk attacked heroically, and the Unionists were defeated with severe loss. Darkness prevented a serious disaster. Bragg continued his retreat, having lost about twenty-five hundred in killed and wounded, the loss of the Federals being much greater. Buell's conduct of the campaign was so unsatisfactory that on the 30th of October he was superseded by General W. S.

Enormous Losses

Rosecrans. Meanwhile, Bragg reached Tennessee, where he was safe.

Sherman was in command at Memphis, and Rosecrans (previous to superseding Buell) was at Corinth, under orders to stop the Confederate army of the Mississippi, should it try to cross the Tennessee and attack Buell. General Price gathered his forces at Iuka, thirty miles south of Corinth, where he was driven out by Rosecrans, who fortified himself at Corinth. As soon as Price was joined by Van Dorn and Lovell, he assailed Rosecrans, whose troops were forced back by the first assault. Once more an important Union army was placed in grave peril, but Rosecrans greatly strengthened his position during the night. The Confederates attacked in the morning, but in a short time their batteries were silenced, owing to the deadly accuracy of the Union artillery. Then an attempt was made to storm the defenses. Several redoubts were captured, and the defenders driven into the town. The division that did this was not supported, and the Unionists drove them out.

Battle at Corinth

The bravery of the Confederates could not have been surpassed. Under fearful losses they persisted in their advance up a rugged ravine, and succeeded in reaching the edge of the ditch. There the withering fire staggered them, and, the Unionists charging at the critical moment, they were forced back. Van Dorn, afraid of an attack, retreated, and was pursued many miles by Rosecrans, who finally returned to his former position. The losses on both sides were dreadful, and the military situation was practically unchanged.

Bravery of the Confederates

The Union forces under Generals Blunt and Herron in northwestern Arkansas were opposed by General Hindman, who, with about thirteen thousand men, interposed himself between two smaller divisions of the Union army, under the respective officers named. While trying by forced marches to unite with General Blunt, Herron's detachment of some four thousand men was confronted at Illinois Creek, near Prairie Grove, by the entire Confederate force, strongly intrenched in woods which hid their strength. Herron attacked with great spirit, driving the cavalry of the enemy across the creek, where he found their artillery and infantry strongly posted on a wooded ridge. A Union light battery, which was sent across, was driven back. General Herron then sent another battery over at a different point, and followed it with three other batteries and regiments, which in the course of an hour silenced the Confederate guns. The Unionists then advanced across an open

ADVANCE AND GIVE THE COUNTERSIGN

field, until within a hundred yards of the ridge, when the Twentieth Wisconsin and the Nineteenth Iowa charged and captured a battery, but, unable to hold it, fell back. The Confederates now charged the three Union batteries, but were repulsed with severe loss. The Twenty-sixth Indiana and Thirty-seventh Illinois, by a brilliant dash, captured the battery, but it was retaken by the Confederates. Just then the sound of General Blunt's guns was heard, announcing that his division, which had been making forced marches to the relief of General Herron, was at hand. Before the united attack of the two Union divisions, the Confederates were obliged to retreat to Van Buren, after which the fighting in that section became aimless and indecisive.

A Union Defeat

At the very time this battle was going on, another, of a far different nature, took place in Hartsville, Tenn. Colonel A. B. Moore, of the One Hundredth and Fourth Illinois, was in command at that point of about two thousand men. He was surprised, December 7, by the Confederate General Morgan, at the head of fifteen hundred cavalry and mounted infantry. Moore had neglected to fortify or intrench his position. His pickets were captured, and having gained the rear of the Union troops, when the sun was shining, without exciting alarm, the Confederates attacked and compelled the superior Union force to surrender.

A Daring Scheme

It would be wonderfully interesting to learn by what narrow chances great campaigns have succeeded or failed. An unexpected slip has caused the miscarriage of a counter-movement which promised momentous results. Thus in April, 1862, the Union General O. M. Mitchell (famous also as an astronomer), set on foot one of the most daring schemes ever conceived, and which, had it succeeded, as there was every reason to believe it would succeed, must have changed the whole aspect of the war.

General Mitchell sent out an expedition to destroy the communications on the Georgia State railroad between Atlanta and Chattanooga. Success in the attempt would have given East Tennessee to the Union forces, which, moving on Lynchburg, would have laid the valley of Virginia at their mercy, and enabled them to attack Stonewall Jackson in the rear. Still further, the Union troops would have held the railway to Charlottesville and Orange Court House, as well as the Southside railroad leading to Petersburg and Richmond. Then probably a junction could have been effected with McClel-

lan's army, and General Joseph Johnston's front and flank, as well as the flank of Beauregard, would have been exposed to overwhelming assault.

This daring scheme was taken in hand by Mr. J. J. Andrews, in April, 1862. He was a Kentuckian engaged in the secret service of the United States government. He proposed to make his way to some point on the State road, where he and several companions could, by a sudden dash, seize an engine and train of cars, and then putting on all steam, make for Chattanooga, cutting the telegraph wires and burning the bridges behind them, until safe within their own lines.

The Men for the Work

The party selected for this delicate and dangerous task numbered twenty-four. They were picked from four companies of the Second, Twenty-first, and Twenty-third Ohio regiments. William Campbell, however, who volunteered in place of a soldier, was, like Mr. Andrews, a citizen of Kentucky. The men were told that the expedition was a secret one, and that it involved great personal peril; but only one person beside Mr. Andrews knew the particulars. Since they had been selected because of their known courage, the statement of their leader did not deter them, but all were eager for the venture.

Before setting out, Andrews divided seven hundred dollars of Confederate money among them, sternly saying, as he did so, that he would instantly shoot the first man who showed the effects of liquor, or who flinched when the supreme test came. Then they separated into parties of two and three; and, dressed in citizens' clothing, and carrying only side-arms, they made their way to Chattanooga, where it was agreed to meet. Twenty-two reached that point without attracting attention, and bought tickets for Marietta, where they arrived at midnight, April 11.

The following morning the company returned over the same road to Big Shanty, where the train was accustomed to stop for meals, and where twenty thousand Confederate troops were encamped within a few rods of the road. The point was a general rendezvous for recruits and the organization of regiments. The train itself had a number of soldiers on board among the other passengers, and an iron safe filled with money with which to pay the troops at Corinth, Miss.

What Was to be Done

It was at this place that Andrews explained to his companions the precise work before them, which was to destroy the track and bridges

from Big Shanty to and beyond Chattanooga, or as far as Bridgeport, Tenn. That portion of the road crosses numerous streams; and since General Mitchell had already severed communications from Corinth by occupying Huntsville, Ala., the destruction of the bridges would prevent reënforcements and supplies from reaching Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia.

The train customarily stopped at Big Shanty for the passengers to breakfast. Engineer, fireman, conductor, and indeed all the train-hands hurried into the eating-saloon, and were soon busy satisfying their wants. At once the conspirators sauntered to their positions, grouping themselves in parties of three and four alongside the different cars. Andrews stood at the coupling-pin of the third car. He had with him several men who had been railway engineers, and therefore knew how to act. One of these strolled up to the engine and found everything in order.

Capture of the Engine

The twenty-two men, Federals, entered the cars; Andrews drew the coupling-pin and called, "All right!" The new engineer opened the throttle, and the engine, with three box-cars attached, moved off.

The amazement of the train-hands and the Confederate camp so nearby perhaps can be imagined. They could hardly believe the evidence of their own eyes; but yonder went the train, puffing faster and faster, until it vanished around a curve, and there could be no doubt that it had been stolen by a band of daring Yankees.

Fully understanding the desperate nature of the work, Andrews stopped the train beyond the curve, and one of his men climbed a telegraph pole and cut the wire. Then they were off again, making frequent stops to tear up the track, and place obstructions upon it.

But the fates were against the brave party, and difficulties not dreamed of began to confront them. Mr. Andrews had made himself master of the schedule, which showed that they should have met but one train, but they met three. Two were engaged in extraordinary service, and, since the track was a single one, the runaways had to switch off and wait for them to pass. When the first stop was made, the engineer of the road came forward, and was about to step upon the engine, when Andrews quietly interposed with the explanation that his train was an extra, running through to Corinth, and his own crew had been engaged specially to run it thither. As proof

Unexpected Difficulties

THE GREAT RAILROAD CHASE

of the truth of what he stated, he pointed to the iron safe. The engineer was satisfied, the engine hurriedly took on wood and water, and was off again.

To his vexation, Andrews soon found himself compelled again to run upon a switch. He entered the office and helped himself to the switch-keys. This aroused strenuous objection; but he calmed matters with the story that he was taking a large quantity of gun-powder to Beauregard at Corinth. Fully an hour was lost by these enforced stops.

Every minute was valuable, and this delay made Andrews uneasy; but neither he nor any of his men lost their nerve. They continually halted, tearing up rails, cutting telegraph wires, and throwing obstructions upon the track. To make up for the time thus used, the new engineer utilized every ounce of steam in increased speed, and despite the roughness of the road, frequently struck a gait of sixty miles an hour, sufficient, it seemed, to wrench the train apart and send engine and all to destruction. Reaching a bridge some twenty miles south of Dalton, Ga., they piled one of their cars high with wood, and then left it standing on the middle of the structure, which they hoped thus to destroy.

The Flight

Meanwhile, how were matters going at Big Shanty? Passengers and train-hands were dumfounded for a few moments by the startling occurrence, but several were quick to think and act. They decided that the Union party had stolen the train on the assumption that no engine could be obtained for pursuit short of Kingston, more than thirty miles distant, and that by promptly cutting the telegraph wires there would be no possibility of pursuit for several hours. Such would have been the fact but for the promptness of the conductor and engineer, and the foreman of the wood department of the state, who happened to be on the train. Pausing only long enough to exchange a few words, the three men started in pursuit of the flying train on foot, a proceeding that much amused the passengers, the remainder of the train-hands, and the soldiers. The pursuers did a little laughing themselves; but, all the same, they were in dead earnest.

The Pursuit

After running three miles along the ties, they came upon a party of track-repairers, who had a small car which they shoved in front of them with their tools. These men were immediately impressed into service. Turns were taken by two at a time in pushing the car

up the grades, while it was allowed to run down the inclines by the force of gravity. Everything was going well, when they ran into a place where the track had been torn up by the fugitives. They scrambled up, lifted the car on the rails, and were off again. They kept at it until they finally reached Etowah station, some thirty miles from Big Shanty. There they found "Yonah," one of the oldest coal locomotives in the state, already fired up. She was immediately run upon the main track, and went wabbling and puffing down the road, as if, like an old war-horse, she snuffed the battle from afar. She soon struck a lively pace, and, when she reached Kingston, the pursuers made the gratifying discovery that, owing to the obstructions the fugitives had met, they were only twenty minutes in advance. "Yonah" was left to rest herself, and the Confederates climbed into a cab of the Pine Branch road, which was awaiting the arrival of the passenger train almost due. Quite a party of volunteers, catching up such arms as they could, joined them, and away they sped in the direction of Adamsville.

Gaining on the Fugitives

Before reaching that point, however, the train was obliged to stop because of the destruction of a part of the road by the runaways. Once more the conductor and foreman of the wood department started ahead on foot, and, two miles out, met a freight train from Adamsville. Explaining the situation, the freight was backed to that town, where the train was left, while the engine started after the fugitives, and ran to Calhoun, at which point they met a down passenger train. Here a halt was made long enough to take on board a party of well-armed volunteers and a number of track-repairers, including a telegraph operator. The pursuers were only a short distance beyond Calhoun, when, for the first time, they caught sight of the runaways. Not dreaming of danger so near, the Unionists had halted, and were oiling their engine and taking up the track; but, at sight of their enemies, they clambered hastily aboard and were off again. They threw many heavy cross-ties from the rear box-car, the end of which was broken out for that purpose. They took the precaution, also, of carrying off the rails that were torn up; but nothing could shake off their pursuers. When they reached these bare spots, they stopped, and, wrenching loose the rails behind them, laid them again in front, the engine passing carefully over to the firm track beyond. Then the cross-ties were flung aside, and the chase resumed.

A Hot Race

This strange pursuit—sudden stoppages alternating with the highest bursts of speed—continued through Resaca, Tilton, and past Dalton. At the last point the pursuers put off their telegraph operator, to telegraph to Chattanooga with orders to have the runaways stopped there, if they were not overhauled before.

The Unionists, in order to block the message, stopped almost in front of a Confederate camp and cut the wires; but the dispatch from the operator at Dalton had passed through just two minutes before.

Again the runaways tore up the track, cut down a telegraph pole and fastened it on the cross-ties; but the pursuers took only a few minutes to remove it, and thundered through the dark passage of Tunnel Hill, barely five minutes behind the fugitives. The situation of the latter was now so desperate that they uncoupled two of the box-cars and left them standing on the track. The others hastily coupled them to the front of the engine, and resumed the pursuit, pushing the cars in front to the first turn-out, where they were switched to one side.

The runaways were now in a bad way. Their wood, water, and oil were exhausted, and all the brass-work on the journals had been melted, and the fierce chase left no time for repairs. When the pursuing engine was within less than a fourth of a mile, the locomotive in front was brought to a halt, and those on board leaped to the ground and scattered to the woods, each for himself.

Capture of the Runaways.

But they were in the midst of a hostile country, swarming with armed men. None of the fugitives knew the section, and, with the help of bloodhounds, all were run down and eventually captured. Since they were undeniably spies, Andrews was hanged at Chattanooga on June 7; seven others suffered a similar fate at Knoxville, June 18; the remaining fourteen tried to escape on October 16, and eight succeeded in doing so. The last six were exchanged on March 18, 1863. Nothing is known of the two men who failed to report to Andrews.

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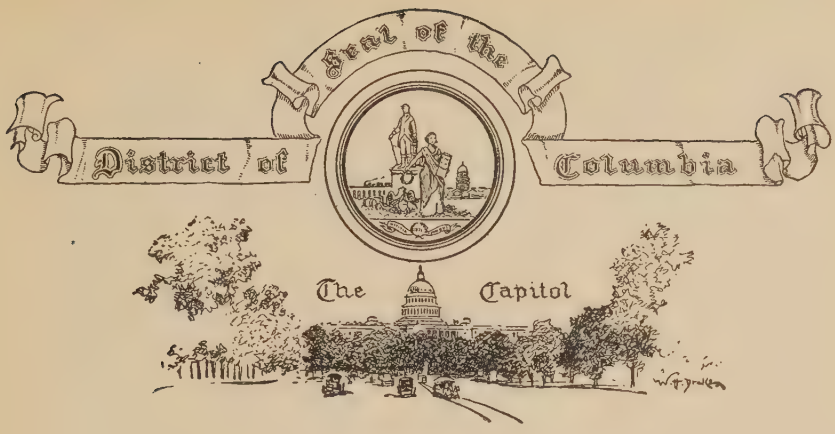
From the Original Painting by Warren Sheppard

DESTRUCTION OF THE CUMBERLAND

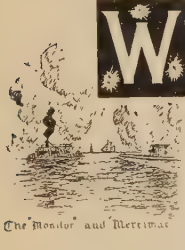


CHAPTER VI

EVENTS OF 1862 (CONTINUED)

ON THE ATLANTIC COAST

[*Author's Note:* Among the events chronicled, none has more striking interest than the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. The attack of the latter upon the wooden fleet in Hampton Roads demonstrated the utter helplessness of unarmored vessels in the presence of an ironclad. The poor fellows of the *Congress* and *Cumberland* had believed their vessels a match for any similar craft in the navies of the world. Nelson, at Trafalgar, had in his fleet no vessel equal to the *Congress*. Now nothing but flight could save them, and they disdained to flee. That battle made necessary the total change in naval warfare, and improvements in guns and armor have since been going on all over the world. Before one of the wonderful steel rifles now mounted on our late battle-ships, the *Merrimac* would have found herself as helpless as were the wooden vessels at Hampton Roads. At a later date the invention of a successful submarine torpedo boat made necessary another readjustment in the construction of the navies of the world to meet the new conditions. Special references for the chapter are to Greeley's "American Conflict," Headley's "History of the Rebellion," and Estvan's "War Pictures of the South."]


The "Monitor" and "Merrimac"

WE have glanced at the principal military operations on land in the west and southwest during the year 1862. Important as they were, those in the east were still more so. Our country was making history fast, and the war for the Union was pressed with prodigious vigor. An account of the movements on the coast shall be our first consideration. At the beginning of the year a fleet sailed for Albemarle Sound. It carried twelve thousand soldiers under the command of General Ambrose E. Burnside, and a naval force under Flag-Officer Louis M. Goldsborough, with Commander Stephen C. Rowan as

divisional commander. The expedition assembled at Annapolis early in January, and arrived at Fortress Monroe on the night of the 10th. Only the leading officers knew the destination, but all were confident and filled with ardor. The naval part of the expedition consisted of a varied assortment of river-, ferry-, and tug-boats, so unfitted for sea and military service that there was much misgiving in high quarters as to its success. Besides the twenty vessels, there were forty-six army transports, each armed with one small gun, under Commander Samuel F. Hazard of the navy.

The Burnside Expedition

This force sailed from Hampton Roads on the night following its arrival, and by the 13th most of the vessels had reached Hatteras Inlet. Several accidents took place, during which a number of horses and considerable property were lost, and Colonel J. W. Allen and Surgeon F. A. Welles were drowned by the upsetting of a surf-boat.

Owing to the shallowness of the water, some of the vessels could not be brought over the bar until February 4. Early the next morning the gunboats formed in three columns, and began cautiously to ascend the channel, the sounding-boats in advance, to learn whether the buoys had been removed. At night, the fleet anchored off Stumpy Point. The next day, after an advance of only two miles, a heavy fog compelled all to anchor. Moving again with the same care as before, the fleet approached Roanoke Island, where there were three strong earthworks mounting twenty-four guns, and defended by three thousand men. Brigadier-General Henry A. Wise, formerly governor of Virginia, was in command of the Confederate district which embraced this section.

Roanoke Island

It will be noted that Roanoke Island is a point of strategic importance. It lies between Roanoke Sound on the east and Croatan Sound on the west, and commands both channels. The appeals of General Wise to the Confederate authorities to strengthen the defenses had been only partially heeded. The malarious climate prostrated many of the negroes employed on the works, and General Wise himself fell ill, and was obliged to give way to Colonel Shaw. The Confederate gunboats numbered only seven, and were stationed between Roanoke Island and the mainland. They were in charge of Commodore Lynch, formerly of the United States navy, and the head of the famous Dead Sea expedition.

The Union fleet entered Croatan Sound on the morning of Febru-

ary 7 and opened the attack. Commodore Lynch was not reckless enough to risk a fight with so overwhelming a force, and withdrew his gunboats to the protection of the batteries. After the fighting had continued some time, General Wise, who was on the mainland, sent his son with reënforcements. One of the Confederate gunboats was sunk, but the loss on either side was unimportant.

Defeat of the Confederates

In the meantime, the transports had at night landed the troops in the rear of the gunboats, and beyond range of the Confederate batteries. The next morning the advance was made in three columns, through a swampy forest. The woods gave the Unionists good protection, and they passed the marsh on each side of the Confederates, thus forcing them out of their intrenchments. They fled to the shore, and some of them succeeded in embarking on boats which were towed away by a steamer. Two thousand prisoners were taken, among them being Lieutenant Wise, who was mortally wounded. Roanoke Island was captured with slight loss on the Union side, and a gain of two thousand six hundred and seventy-five prisoners and three thousand small arms.

The Confederate gunboats were pursued and attacked in the narrow channel leading to Elizabeth City. The crews made a short fight, then fired their craft and escaped to shore. Winton on the Chowan was burned by the Unionists.

The next point of attack was New Berne, at the junction of the Neuse and Trent rivers, on the railway connecting Beaufort with Raleigh and Richmond. A tiresome tramp through the mud brought the troops in front of the town on the night of March 13. A line of forts in advance of the houses defended the place. These delivered so destructive a fire that the Federals were ordered to storm the works. It was a determined struggle, and the fighting was furious on both sides; but the Confederate position was turned, and the approach of the gunboats caused the enemy to flee. They blew up one of the forts, and checked pursuit by burning the bridge behind them. New Berne had also been fired by the Confederates, who destroyed an immense quantity of turpentine, cotton, and military stores, and a number of buildings. The city was occupied by the Unionists, and General Foster was appointed as military governor. A detachment of gunboats took possession of Washington, at the mouth of Tar river, in Pamlico Sound. Fort Macon, which com-

Capture of New Berne

manded the entrance to the harbor of Beaufort, surrendered April 25.*

It will be remembered that the Norfolk navy yard was partly destroyed by Captain Charles S. McCauley, the commandant, April 21, 1861, to prevent the property falling into the hands of the Confederates. Nevertheless, they secured the most valuable part of the stores, including two thousand of the best cannon, which were distributed through the South.

The Merrimac

The forty-gun frigate *Merrimac*, of thirty-five hundred tons, sank before her hull was much injured by the flames. The Confederates raised her on the 30th of May, and found her hull and engines uninjured. She was put into the dry-dock, and her upper woodworks were elevated to the berth-deck, on which were built bulwarks of twenty inches of pitch pine, protected by four inches of oak, and inclined at an angle of thirty-five degrees, the bulwarks extending for one hundred and seventy feet amidships.

This two feet of solid wood backing was covered by rolled iron plates, two inches thick and eight inches wide, running horizontally. Outside of this were laid similar iron plates running vertically, the bolting rivets being secured on the inside. The shot-proof casemate was sheathed with a grating twenty feet wide and a hundred and sixty feet long. In front of the smokestack was the pilot-house, with the same armor as the sides. Fastened to the prow, and about two feet under water, was a cast-iron ram, reaching beyond the cut-water.

The Great Iron-Clad

The *Merrimac* was pierced for ten guns, and renamed the *Virginia* by the Confederates. The seven-inch rifled guns were mounted on pivots, so that they could be fired abeam or along the keel line forward or aft. The broadside armament included two rifled six-inch guns and six nine-inch Dahlgren guns.

The work of building the *Merrimac* was carried on amid many difficulties, owing to the lack of skilled mechanics and suitable workshops. Her commander was Captain Franklin Buchanan, lately of the United States navy, whose staff of officers included seven lieutenants, six midshipmen, paymaster, surgeon and assistant surgeon, captain of marines, engineer, five assistant engineers, etc., and a crew of three hundred and twenty, composed mainly of volunteers from the army around Yorktown, Richmond, and Petersburg.

*When the secession flag was lowered, and that of the Union run up, a veteran Confederate bugler climbed upon the shattered rampart and saluted "Old Glory" by playing "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Among the letters found in Richmond, after the close of the war, were a number from Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate Secretary of the Navy, bearing upon the construction of the *Merrimac* (*Virginia*). Since this craft was destined to open an era in naval warfare, some

CAPTURE OF ROANOKE ISLAND

of these letters deserve record. The first was dated February 24, 1862, and was directed to Flag-Officer Buchanan:

Letters of the Confederate Secretary of the Navy

"You are hereby detailed from the office of 'Orders and Detail,' and will proceed to Norfolk and report to Flag-Officer Forrest for the command of the naval defenses of James river.

"You will hoist your flag on the *Virginia*, or any other vessel of your squadron, which will for the present embrace the *Virginia*, *Patrick Henry*, *Jamestown*, *Teaser*, *Raleigh*, and *Beaufort*.

"The *Virginia* is a novelty in naval construction, is untried, and her powers unknown, and the department will not give specific orders as to her attack upon the enemy. Her powers as a ram are regarded as very formidable, and it is hoped that you may be able to test them.

"Like the bayonet charge of infantry, this mode of attack, while the most destructive, will commend itself to you in the present scarcity of ammunition. It is one also that may be rendered destructive at night against the enemy at anchor.

"Even without guns, the ship would be formidable as a ram.

"Could you pass Old Point and make a dashing cruise on the Potomac as far as Washington? Its effect upon the public mind would be important to the cause.

"The condition of our country and the painful reverses we have just suffered demand out utmost exertions, and convinced as I am that the opportunity and the means for striking a decided blow for our navy are now for the first time presented, I congratulate you upon it, and know that your judgment and gallantry will meet all just expectations.

"Action—prompt and successful action—now would be of serious importance to our cause; and with my earnest wishes for your success, and for the happiness of yourself, officers, and crew, etc."

The letter of March 7 shows what high expectations were held of the *Merrimac* by the Confederate authorities. Secretary Mallory writes:

"I submit for your consideration the attack of New York by the *Virginia*. Can the *Virginia* steam to New York and attack and burn the city? She can, I doubt not, pass Old Point safely, and in good weather with a smooth sea she could doubtless go to New York. Once in the bay she could shell and burn the city and the shipping. Such an event would eclipse all the glories of all the combats of the sea, would place every man in it pre-eminently high, and would strike a blow from which the enemy could never recover. Peace would inevitably follow. Bankers would withdraw their capital from the city, the Brooklyn navy yard and its magazines and all the lower part of the city would be destroyed, and such an event, by a single ship, would do more to achieve an immediate independence than would the results of many campaigns.

"Can the ship go there? Please give me your views."

Work was kept up day and night on the *Merrimac*, but it was not until March that she was completed. The iron armor was coated with tallow, and everything being in readiness, she cast loose from her moorings in Norfolk, on the forenoon of March 8, and steamed down the Elizabeth river. The engines worked unsatisfactorily, the highest speed being only five knots, and her twenty-two feet of draught and cumbersome length made maneuvering exceedingly difficult.

Departure of the Merrimac from Norfolk

The *Merrimac* was escorted down the river by a number of steamers, but, dropping them at Sewell's Point, she steamed toward Newport News alone. There lay the United States fifty-gun frigate *Congress*, Lieutenant J. B. Smith commanding, and the twenty-four gun sloop-of-war *Cumberland*, under Commander William Radford. Lower down Hampton Roads were the sailing frigate *St. Lawrence* and the steam frigates *Roanoke* and *Minnesota*.

In the soft sunshine of that memorable spring morning, the Union vessels lay calmly at their anchors on the placid waters of the bay. There was no thought of danger on shipboard or on land, for there had been so many rumors of the terrible *Merrimac*, followed by her

delay, that few had come to suspect there was anything to be feared from her. It was nine o'clock when the Union vessels saw the smoke of two steamers over the woods that hid the Elizabeth river from the *Cumberland*. By and by the smoke of a third steamer was observed, and by noon the three were descried, approaching from Sewell's Point. A gunboat near the *Cumberland* was sent down to Pig Point to find out who the strangers were. A couple of miles away the officers of the gunboat saw what seemed to be the roof of an immense house moving slowly through the water, with its chimney emitting black smoke. A brief scrutiny convinced them that this was the *Merrimac*. The thirty-two-pounder Parrott gun of the gunboat was brought to bear, and six shots fired; but the *Merrimac* gave no heed, and the gunboat returned to the *Cumberland*. Between noon and one o'clock the *Merrimac* came out of the river and into plain sight.

Preparations for Battle

The men-of-war began preparations for battle. The crews were under fine discipline, and everything, to the slightest detail, moved with the precision of machinery. The *Merrimac*, in advance of her escorts, and with her ports closed, moved grimly forward like some gigantic sea-monster, her huge iron prow pointed toward the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*. The latter opened with her heavy pivot-guns, the *Congress* speedily doing the same, while the shore batteries added their fire. The enormous projectiles glanced off the iron sides of the monster like stones skipping over the surface of a mill-pond. She approached with slow, resistless majesty until within short range, when she flung open her bow port and fired her seven-inch rifled gun. The ball hulled the *Cumberland's* quarter, and killed or wounded nearly all of the crew of the after pivot-gun. The *Congress* and *Cumberland* were now within a hundred yards, and delivered full broadsides from their batteries—and then took place that which the world had never seen before. The tons of hurtling iron, which would have splintered and sunk any wooden craft afloat, were as harmless as so many wads of paper. The paymaster on the *Congress* was the brother of Commander Buchanan, but the latter did not stay his hand because of that fact. With deliberation and fearful precision he returned the fire of the Union ships from his bow gun. Still pushing resistlessly nearer, the four starboard port-lids of the *Merrimac* were lifted, the black muzzles pushed out, and four shells were driven into the hull of the *Congress*. Then the *Merrimac*, under full steam,

Attack on the Congress and Cumberland

headed for the *Cumberland*. The ram struck with appalling force, opening a chasm in the side of the frigate through which the water poured like a mill-stream. In backing away, the iron prow of the *Merrimac* clung to the wreck. The blow was followed by a discharge of her bow gun. Then, as she shook off the doomed ship as a bull might fling a rag from his horn, Lieutenant Jones called through a port-hole of the *Merrimac* to his former classmate: "Surrender, Morris, or I'll sink you!"

"Never," replied Lieutenant Morris. "I'll sink first!"

For nearly an hour the *Merrimac* and her consorts converged their fire on the *Cumberland*, the gunboats *Yorktown*, *Jamestown*, and *Teaser* coming up and giving help. There was not the slightest hope for the *Cumberland*; she was like a fly under the heel of a giant; but not a man flinched. A shell burst in the sick-bay, and killed and wounded four men in their cots. Over a hundred of the crew were soon slain or injured, and the vessel settled so fast that she was certain soon to sink; but the heroes fought on, bringing up the wounded and placing them on deck to escape the inrush of waters, which soon drove the men from the guns on the lower deck. Instantly manning the upper batteries, the struggle was continued. The red flag, meaning "no surrender," was run up at the fore, while the merciless pounding of the *Merrimac* hastened the destruction of crew and ship.

"No Surrender"

Commodore Buchanan was in sight on the upper deck, directing operations. A sailor named Cavenagh twice attempted to leap on the *Merrimac*, when she came within reach, intending to kill the Confederate commander. Landing on the sloping armor, he could not sustain himself, and, slipping back, swam to the *Cumberland*. When the forward magazine was flooded, and the water was rising around the gun-carriages, Lieutenant Morris shouted to each to save himself.

All the boats had been shot away except one, and that was filled by those who first reached it. The chaplain went down with the wounded, and a number were shot while swimming in the water, Lieutenant Morris being among those that were saved. The *Cumberland* sank in fifty-four feet of water, which reached to her cross-trees, while the Stars and Stripes remained fluttering from her mast-head.

Sinking of the Cumberland

The *Merrimac*, accompanied by her consorts, now set out to com-

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BURNING OF THE "CONGRESS"

plete the destruction of the *Congress*. Securing a favorable position, at a distance of two hundred yards, she raked the frigate with horrible effect. Lieutenant Smith was killed; but Lieutenant Pendergrast, who succeeded him, kept up the fight, if such it may be called, until his two stern guns, the only ones that were available, were disabled. The ship by that time was on fire in several places, and the white flag was displayed. The gunboats *Beaufort* and *Raleigh* ran alongside to take off the crew and burn the ship.

The shore batteries kept up their fire, forcing the steamers to haul off with only thirty prisoners and the flag of the *Congress*. When the officers called to General Mansfield, who was directing the firing, and pointed to the white flag of the *Congress*, he shouted back:

"*They* may surrender, but *we* don't!"

Destruction of the Congress

By Commodore Buchanan's orders, hot shot were fired into the *Congress*, which burned throughout the rest of the afternoon and most of the night. Buchanan was struck by a rifle-ball from Newport News and wounded in the thigh, and the command of the *Merrimac* devolved upon Lieutenant Jones. The *Congress* had lost over a hundred men, a number being so much exhausted by swimming ashore that they died after being helped from the water.

During the fight, the frigates *Minnesota*, *Roanoke*, and *St. Lawrence*, at Fort Monroe, seven miles away, hurried towards the scene of action. When within nearly a mile, the *Minnesota* ran aground. "Why this ship, with one of Norfolk's best pilots in charge of her, should have run upon a well-known shoal at such a critical moment may well excite suspicion of treachery; and a deeper investigation reveals it. On the declaration of Mr. Mallory, the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, it is learned that 'The pilot of the *Minnesota*, although bound by an oath of fealty to the United States, had also sworn allegiance to the Confederacy, and was in the service and pay of its Department of Marine; and the stranding of that ship was in obedience to instructions from the office in Richmond, where information of the disaster was received in one hour and fifteen minutes after its occurrence.' The pilot was discharged from the United States service April 19, 1862, and immediately on his arrival at Norfolk he was appointed second pilot of the *Merrimac*."*

Treachery

*Maclay.—There can be no doubt of the treachery of this man; but the statement of Secretary Mallory seems to contain improbabilities. It is hard to understand how he could reach the pilot, under the circumstances, with instructions,

The *Roanoke* and the *St. Lawrence* had also grounded a little way above Fort Monroe, and the *Merrimac* now set out to destroy

BLOWING UP OF THE CONGRESS

them. The shallowness of the water compelled the ram to take the south channel and fire over the middle ground at a mile distant.

when the time was necessarily very brief and such communication must have directed suspicion to the pilot. Furthermore, what right had Secretary Mallory to expose the conduct of one of his trusted agents?

Only one of her shots struck, and that did little damage. Her consorts, however, secured easy range, and inflicted serious injury before they were driven off. The *Minnesota* used her ten-inch guns on the *Merrimac*, and her single stern-chaser on the gunboats. After an hour and a half the *St. Lawrence* was floated off, and her approach relieved the *Minnesota* of the annoying fire of the gunboats. It was now dark, and the *Merrimac*, to avoid grounding, headed for Sewell's Point, where she anchored with her consorts, intending to resume her work of death and destruction the next morning.

The Fearful Work of the Merrimac

It had been a fateful day for the United States navy. Of the 434 men on the *Congress*, 130 had been killed or drowned, and among them was her commander. Thirty were taken prisoners, and many wounded. On the *Cumberland*, 120 were killed or drowned and many wounded out of a crew of 376. Two were killed on the *Merrimac*, and 8 wounded, including Captain Buchanan. Inclusive of the gunboats, 21 were killed or wounded.

While the *Merrimac* had received the fire of fully a hundred guns, she had suffered no material injury. Her flagstaff was shot away several times, and when the colors were fastened to the smokestack they fell again. Finally they were tied to a boarding-pike.

The South was filled with rejoicing and the North with the deepest gloom, for imagination saw no limit to the awful work of which the *Merrimac* was capable, and upon which it was believed she would enter in the course of a few hours. President Lincoln called a Cabinet meeting to consider the new peril that threatened the life of the Union.

Alarm in Washington

"The whole character of the war will be changed by the *Merrimac*," declared the impetuous Stanton. "She will destroy one after the other, every vessel of our navy. She will lay all the cities on the seaboard under contribution. Port Royal must be abandoned; I shall recall Burnside at once. I shall notify the governors and municipal authorities of the North to take instant measures to protect their harbors. It is quite likely that we shall receive a shell or cannon-ball from the *Merrimac* in the White House."

The most extraordinary measures were proposed for protection, but none was practicable. All felt that we were at the mercy of this leviathan, and nothing but the interposition of Providence could save the Union from overthrow; and that interposition was at hand.

Now, while the *Merrimac* was in course of construction by the

Confederates, our government was kept fully informed of the progress of the work. Early in October, 1861, a contract was made with the famous Swedish inventor, John Ericsson, of New York, to construct a war-vessel on a new and unique pattern, the invention of which was wholly his own. It was an iron-plated raft, one hundred and seventy-two feet over all, forty-one and a half feet beam, with

"THE WHOLE CHARACTER OF THE WAR WILL BE CHANGED"

eleven and one-third feet depth of hold. A single revolving turret contained two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns, firing solid shot weighing one hundred and eighty pounds. Less than two feet of the hull was to appear above water; the target surface was plated with five layers of wrought iron, each an inch in thickness, resting on eight inches of solid oak; while two layers of half-inch plates protected the deck.

Building of the Monitor

The turret was twenty feet in diameter, inside measurement, and nine feet high. It was built of eight layers of one-inch plates of forged iron. The propeller and rudder at the stern were protected by the overhang of the deck. The pilot-house forward rose four feet

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above the deck, affording scant room for three men standing. The top was covered with plates of iron one and a half inches thick, kept in place by their weight alone. The object of this was to afford a means of escape for the crew in case of necessity.

The keel of the *Monitor* was laid at Greenpoint, L. I., October 25, 1861. One hundred days later, January 30, she was launched. She made her trial trip February 19, and was turned over to the government. Her guns were mounted March 4, and a board of naval officers made a favorable report upon her. Her name, *Monitor*, was given to her by request of Mr. Ericsson. It was intended at first that she should join the expedition to New Orleans, but news of the completion of the *Merrimac* changed her destination.

There was much distrust of the novel craft. She had been condemned by naval experts, many of whom pronounced her more dangerous to her own crew than were any of the craft of the enemy. Several to whom the command was offered declined. Lieutenant John Lorimer Worden left a sick-bed and volunteered to take command. Lieutenant Samuel Dana Greene, a youth of twenty-two, was executive officer. With sixteen officers and a crew of forty-two men she left New York, Thursday morning, March 6, in tow of a tug-boat.

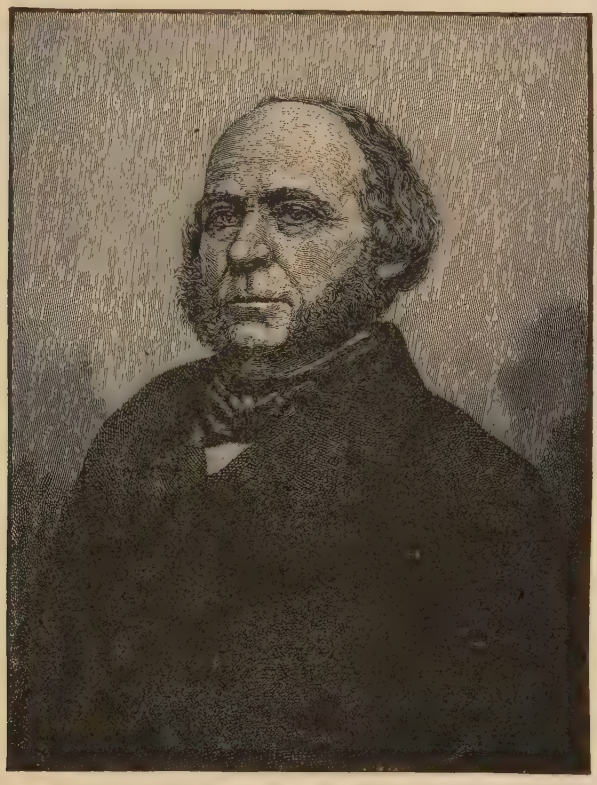
A Perilous Voyage

The voyage southward was perilous to the last degree. She would have foundered but for the persistent labor and skill of the crew. So much water was dashed through the blower-pipes that the belts of the blower-engines slipped, and the artificial draught was stopped. The two engineers who hurried into the engine-room were overcome by gas, and were only revived after being carried to the top of the turret. So much water poured down the smokestacks and blower-pipes that the vessel threatened to sink. No one could breathe in the engine-room because of the gas, and the steam sank so low that the steam-pumps could not be worked. Resort was had to hand-pumps, which were too weak to throw the water through the turret, the only opening for it. When the men were ready to despair, the wind died out, and comparatively smooth water was reached. Then rough water was again encountered, and the steering apparatus got out of order, compelling all hands to toil through most of the night. The perils of the voyage ended on Saturday morning, March 8, when the *Monitor* once more reached smooth water.

In the latter part of the afternoon, while passing Cape Henry,

those on board heard the distant booming of cannon. The reports were those of the *Merrimac's* guns as she fired red-hot shot into the doomed *Congress*. Soon afterward the pilot came on board and told the fearful story. Every preparation was made for action, but it was nearly ten o'clock before the *Monitor* arrived off Fortress Monroe.

The *Congress* was still burning. "The moon in her second quar-



JOHN ERICSSON

ter was just rising over the waters, but her silvery light was soon paled by the conflagration of the *Congress*, whose glare was reflected in the river. The burning frigate, four miles away, seemed much nearer. As the flames crept up the rigging, every mast, spar, and rope glittered against the dark sky with dazzling lines of fire. The hull was plainly visible, and upon its black surface each port-hole seemed the mouth of a fiery furnace. For hours the flames raged with hardly a perceptible change in the wondrous picture. At irreg-

The Doomed Congress

ular intervals loaded guns and shells, exploding as the fire reached them, shook up a shower of sparks, and sent forth their deep reverberations. The masts and rigging were still standing, apparently almost intact, when at one o'clock in the following morning she blew up."* The same glare showed the topmasts of the *Cumberland*, with "Old Glory" fluttering from the peak. The *Monitor* steamed up the channel, and anchored beside the *Minnesota*, which was still aground.

The crew of the *Monitor* had been compelled to battle for more than two days and nights against the sea, during which they had only dry bread to eat, for cooking was impossible. One man was sick in his bunk, and all were exhausted. The crew of the *Merrimac*, flushed and aglow with one of the most notable of all triumphs, slept by their guns, as one of the officers remarked, dreaming of greater victories on the morrow.

Return of the Merrimac

Peering through the mists of the calm Sunday morning across Hampton Roads, the officers and crew of the *Monitor* saw the dark outlines of her colossal antagonist assuming more distinct form as she grimly approached to resume her hideous work. She slipped her moorings at eight o'clock, and in command of Lieutenant Jones headed for the *Minnesota*. She steamed toward the Rip-Raps, and, when within a mile, sent a shot into the *Minnesota's* counter. Then the *Monitor* swung from her anchorage, and David advanced to meet Goliath.

The programme of the *Merrimac* was a fearful one. She meant to destroy the *Minnesota*, then the *Roanoke* and the *St. Lawrence*, after which she would steam northward to Washington and New York. This course of proceedings was changed at sight of the *Monitor*, which was immediately recognized by the Confederates from the descriptions received from the North. Amid the breathless expectancy of the crowds of spectators, the two craft approached each other.

Opening of the Great Naval Battle

At half-past eight the *Merrimac* discharged her bow gun, but the target was comparatively small, and the missile missed. Lieutenant Worden held his fire until within short range, and running alongside of his bulky enemy, stopped the engines and gave the order to begin firing. The turret revolved until the guns bore, and the eleven-inch solid shot crashed against the *Merrimac*. Almost in the same instant, the *Merrimac* fired her starboard broadside. The impact on

*R. E. Colston: "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War."

THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC

the turret was tremendous, and there were anxious glances around to learn the result of this first test of the armor. A fervent prayer of relief went up when it was seen that none of the shot had penetrated and the turret revolved freely. Hope and confidence now thrilled those on the smaller vessel.

Shot and Shell Ineffective

The ironclads immediately turned and fired again at closer quarters than before. The *Monitor* hurled one solid shot every eight minutes, while the *Merrimac* used only shells. No apparent injury was done to either craft. The *Merrimac* fired her guns as fast as they could be loaded. The advantage at this time was with the smaller boat, which, owing to her light draught and size, could maneuver with much more celerity than her huge enemy, and her revolving turret brought her guns into range when they were loaded. The *Merrimac* could not fire until her guns bore, and part of the time she had to receive the pounding of the *Monitor* in sullen silence.

Seeing that the broadsides produced no effect, Lieutenant Worden made a dash at the *Merrimac's* stern, hoping to disable the rudder or propeller. He barely missed the mark, and at the moment of grazing the enemy's quarter, both guns of the *Monitor* were discharged. The solid shot crushed in the iron plates for several inches, and the concussion knocked down the crew of the after-guns of the *Merrimac*.

Efforts to Ram Monitor Fail

Finding that none of her shots injured the *Monitor*, the *Merrimac* now resorted to her ram. She charged at full speed, but the alert *Monitor* turned, so that the blow glanced harmlessly past. It was like an elephant trying to run down a nimble hound that plays all around him. The *Monitor* was so flat and broad that the most furious ramming merely pushed her aside, "as a floating door would slip away from under the cutwater of a barge." As a last resort, Lieutenant Jones determined to board her, to choke her turret by some means, and lash her to the *Merrimac*. Before the attempt could be made the *Monitor* hauled off into shoal water, where she was as safe as if in New York.

At the end of two hours the ammunition in the turret ran low, and Lieutenant Worden drew back to replenish the stock. To do this, the scuttle in the revolving deck of the turret had to correspond with an opening in the stationary deck below, so that the temporary withdrawal from action was necessary. The movement led the crew of the *Merrimac* to think that her antagonist was beaten; but the error lasted only fifteen minutes, when the *Monitor* again bore down

on her enemy, who, convinced that the turret was impregnable, turned their fire against the pilot-house.

Lieutenant Worden was peering through a sight-hole in the pilot-house, when a shell struck the outside, a little more than a foot away, and exploded. There was a blinding flash, a terrific concussion, and his eyes were filled with powder. Believing the pilot-house to have

END OF THE MONITOR

been destroyed, he gave the order to sheer off, and sent for Lieutenant Greene. The latter ran forward, and found his commander leaning against the ladder that led to the pilot-house. His eyes were closed, and blood seemed to be oozing from every pore in his face. He was totally blind, and clung to the ladder until help reached him. He was led into the cabin, where the surgeon attended him; but his anxiety about the progress of the battle caused him to disregard the intense pain of his wounds, and he insisted upon knowing everything that took place.

Lieutenant Worden Injured

Lieutenant Greene hurried to the pilot-house, and found that the only damage to the *Monitor* was a fracture of the heavy iron plate. The craft had been drifting during the confusion, but she now started

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again for her foe, which, observing her running to shoal water, where she could not be followed, headed for Norfolk. The *Monitor* fired several shots after her, as if to challenge her to come back and continue the fight; but the *Merrimac* steamed up Elizabeth river, and the *Monitor* once more took her station beside the *Minnesota*, which was still aground.

After the Battle

During this memorable fight, the *Monitor* fired forty-one shots, and was struck twice on the pilot-house, three times on the deck, eight times on the side, and nine times on the turret. The *Merrimac* showed ninety-seven indentations of shot, twenty of which were caused by the guns of the *Monitor*.

The *Merrimac* was placed in the dry-dock at Norfolk for repairs. Important improvements were made in her, and April 11 she came down the Elizabeth river, in command of Commodore Josiah Tatnall, who intended again to engage the *Monitor*, which was anchored below Fort Monroe with the other Union vessels. The government, however, had ordered that the invaluable little craft should remain strictly on the defensive, and should take no unnecessary risks. Being the only ironclad in the possession of the government, she was too valuable to incur any unnecessary risk.

The end of these two ironclads was tragic. Norfolk was evacuated by the Confederates in the following May. The *Merrimac* drew too much water to pass up the James river, and on the 11th she was run ashore on Craney Island, her crew of three hundred officers and men landed, and the vessel fired. She blew up at five o'clock, and thus vanished one of the principal resources of the Confederacy. The *Monitor*, in company with the steamer *Rhode Island*, sailed for Beaufort, S. C., December 29. She was in charge of Commander John P. Bankhead. On the day following, the vessels encountered a fierce gale, and about midnight the *Monitor* went down, sixteen of her crew of sixty-five sinking with her.

The End of the Ironclads

The battle between these two ironclads wrought a revolution in the naval warfare of the world. It demonstrated the uselessness of wooden vessels when confronted by one of these craft incased in armor. Our government immediately contracted with Ericsson for a fleet of ironclads, which were employed in blockading southern ports.*

*Many of the war-vessels used by both sides on the western waters are referred to as "ironclads." This was because some of their vital portions were partly protected by rude armor; but the *Monitor* and *Merrimac* were the first real ironclads in which the entire vessel was incased in armor.

Confederate Iron-Clads.

CHAPTER VII

EVENTS OF 1862 (CONTINUED)

THE GULF COAST AND THE MISSISSIPPI

[*Author's Note:* In this chapter are described, among other things, the deeds of two men which served perhaps more to make their names historical than all the other acts of their lives. Those men were Benjamin F. Butler and David Glascoe Farragut. As preliminary to an effort to open the Mississippi, they co-operated in an attempt to capture the city of New Orleans. After a desperate resistance, and an equally desperate and persistent attack, during which Farragut greatly distinguished himself, they were successful. Butler was placed in charge of the city, but his vigorous measures awakened unexampled bitterness. James Parton says of him, however: "At New Orleans he was magnificently right, both in theory and in practice." He reduced the city to order, and saved it from yellow fever during the summer of 1862 by his careful sanitary regulations. Never was a man so vilified who perhaps deserved it less. He was replaced by General Banks, whose method of government by conciliation failed, thus demonstrating the wisdom and necessity of Butler's vigorous measures. To the authorities cited in previous chapters add Headley's "Farragut and Our Naval Commanders."]

Fire Rafts

EARLY in the war the national government determined to capture New Orleans, the most important commercial city in the South. Its commerce had been ruined by the enforcement of the blockade, and in that city there was intense hostility against the Unionists. With a view of raising the blockade, the Confederates increased their river fleet and began to build a number of ironclads.

The question was considered whether to attack New Orleans with a fleet descending the river, or coming from the direction of the Gulf of Mexico. It was feared that the city was impregnable from

below. On opposite banks of the river, seventy-five miles below New Orleans and twenty-five miles above the mouth of the Mississippi, were Forts Philip and Jackson. They were garrisoned mainly by regular troops, many of whom had served in the army of the United States. These forts constituted the outer line of defenses, the second line being established among the swamps and woods lining the river banks between New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. The Confederates made the blunder of weakening the second line, which was defended by two ranges of cannon, and intended to guard against the approach of infantry. Many of the larger guns were removed to strengthen the river batteries.

The Defenses of New Orleans

The defenses were formidable, each fort mounting one hundred guns. Below them was a boom of hulks and cypress logs chained together, and stretching across the river. Above this boom lay fifteen Confederate vessels, including the iron-clad ram *Manassas* and a partially completed floating battery, covered with railroad iron, called the *Louisiana*. Three thousand ninety-day volunteers defended the city, most of the troops formerly there having been sent to Beauregard's army in Tennessee.

The national government decided that New Orleans should be attacked from below, and spent months in preparing an expedition consisting of six sloops-of-war, sixteen gunboats, twenty mortar-schooners, and five other vessels, all under the command of Commodore David Glascoe Farragut. The reader will recall Midshipman Farragut of the *Essex*, in the War of 1812. He was a man of southern birth and affiliations, and was living in Norfolk at the time the craze of secession swept over the South. When appealed to by the Confederate leaders, he replied: "I'll see every one of you damned before I'll raise my hand against the flag!" Being told that he could not remain in his home, he said he wanted only two hours' notice, and the same evening left with his family for the North. Farragut was one of the greatest of American naval heroes.

Farragut's Loyalty

In this expedition Captain David D. Porter had charge of the schooners, each of which carried a thirteen-inch mortar and two long thirty-two pounders. It was hoped that the fire from these would silence the forts. The land forces, consisting mainly of New England troops, and numbering fifteen thousand, were under the command of General Benjamin F. Butler.

A detachment of soldiers arrived at Ship Island in December,

1861, another in January following, and Farragut came February 20, in the *Hartford*. From that hour the men were busy preparing for the attack. On the 16th of April, Farragut ascended the river to a point three miles below Fort Jackson. A reconnaissance showed that the water through lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain was too shallow to allow the fleet to pass, and it was decided to advance

ADMIRAL DAVID G. FARRAGUT

against the city by means of the Mississippi itself. There, too, the water was shallower than marked on the maps. It took two weeks to work the *Pensacola* over the bar at Southwest Pass, and the *Colorado* could not be gotten over at all. It required three weeks to pass the natural obstructions. Meanwhile, the gunboats and mortar-vessels had gone through Pass à l'Outre.

Unexpected Difficulties

The masts and rigging of the gunboats and mortar-vessels were decked with the limbs of trees to deceive the Confederate watchers.

Their task was to attack the craft of the enemy, and to drive out the sharpshooters by shelling the woods, the fleet in the meantime waiting at a point twenty-two miles below the forts. The troops were carried in transports through Pass à l'Outre to Table Island, and thence by smaller boats to a point twelve miles behind Fort Philip, on the northeastern bank of the stream. A short time after, two of the mortar-boats entered a bayou in the rear of Fort Jackson, and soon several gunboats were within two miles of the fort.

Attack on the Forts

In response to the signals, the mortar-schooners opened fire on the forenoon of the 18th. Each schooner fired a shell every ten minutes. The forts responded briskly, but the intervening trees prevented accuracy on their part. The fire of the mortars was increased towards night and diminished at midnight.

The bombardment was kept up for six days and nights, during which period nearly a thousand tons of iron were hurled at the forts. The first day's discharge set fire to the officers' citadel in Fort Jackson, and on the second day their quarters were burned and the artillerists driven from the parapet guns. The fort, however, suffered no material injury, though several of the garrison were killed or wounded.

The Confederates had filled a number of fire-barges with light, inflammable wood, saturated with turpentine and tar, and set them adrift in the hope of destroying the Union fleet. The Federals were vigilant, and these fire-ships were caught and towed ashore, where a number of them set the wharves of Fort Philip aflame, and, in the darkness, helped the Unionists to aim their guns. The preparations for receiving these blazing craft were so perfect that very soon not the least fear was felt concerning them.

Seeing the uselessness of the attempt, the Confederates set none adrift on the night of April 20. Lieutenant Pierce Crosby with the *Pinola,* and Lieutenant Charles H. B. Caldwell with the *Itasca,* both under the orders of Commander Henry H. Bell, went up the river to sever the boom which still spanned the stream. The forts discovered their approach and opened fire, whereupon the mortars increased their fire. After several mishaps, Lieutenant Caldwell passed through a gap in the obstructions, turned about, and under a full head of steam struck the chain holding the hulks together, and ran the bow of the boat so far upon it that it was lifted out of the water, and the weight of the craft snapped the huge links, and opened a

Passing the Obstructions

still larger gap. Three nights later a careful examination was made of this opening, and the way was found to be clear.

On the 20th, Farragut held a council of war with his officers. He told them that his mind was made up to run by the forts, but he wished their views as to the best means of doing it. There was considerable diversity of opinion, but the decision reached was that the attempt should be made on the night of the 23d. The vessels were to be ranged in single line, and to pass the forts in three divisions, the first being led by Captain Theodorus Bailey, with the gunboat *Cayuga*, Lieutenant N. B. Harrison, at the head; the second, or center division, was to be led by Captain Farragut in the sloop-of-war *Hartford*, Commander Richard Wainwright; and the third division, commanded by H. H. Bell, to be led by the gunboat *Sciota*, Lieutenant Edward Donaldson.

Formation of the Fleet

The machinery and exposed parts of the vessels were protected by bags of sand, coal, and ashes, hammocks, and sails, and some of the hulls were smeared with river-mud to make them less conspicuous, while decks and gun-carriages were whitewashed, so as to be distinguished the more readily in the darkness.

The night of April 23 was clear, and the sky studded with stars. By half-past three the next morning the whole fleet was under way. The alarm had spread to the forts, and the Confederates kindled bonfires on the banks, while fire-rafts helped to light up the impressive scene. The mortar-schooners renewed their bombardment with great vigor, and as soon as the head of the Union fleet came within range, the enemy opened with all the guns that could be made to bear. Captain Bailey, with the *Cayuga*, pushed boldly towards Fort St. Philip under the tremendous fire, and was soon confronted by three steamers, which dashed at him with the intention of running him down. His eleven-inch Dahlgren gun was fired at the second steamer when she was within a hundred feet, and crippled her. She ran inshore, and was speedily wrapped in flames, while a second shot turned another aside. The third steamer was swiftly approaching, and the *Cayuga*, having been struck more than forty times, made ready to repel boarders, when the *Varuna*, the fifth in line, crippled the Confederate with a shot, and steamed up the river. A few minutes later a steamer filled with soldiers made for the *Varuna*, when Commander Boggs sent a shot into her boiler, and the Con-

The Naval Engagement

federate swung ashore. A gunboat and two other steamers were also driven ashore by the *Varuna*.

Meanwhile, the Confederate *Governor Moore*, Lieutenant Beverly Kennon commander, while lying near Fort St. Philip had discovered the approaching fleet, and was soon in pursuit of the *Varuna*. He used the Union distinguishing lights until, in the gray mist of the morning, he was within a hundred yards of the *Varuna*, which

THE "VARUNA" AND THE "GOVERNOR MOORE"

had no suspicion of her danger. Then he lowered the Union light, and fired at the *Varuna* without striking her. The *Varuna* replied, and a desperate fight followed. The Union boat was rammed, and several men killed, while the *Governor Moore* received still greater injury, and finally was set on fire and compelled to drop out of action. Lieutenant Kennon strove to get into the fight again, but his machinery was too much crippled, and more than fifty of his men had been killed. Finally, he ran his boat ashore and burned her.

The Dauntless Varuna

The *Varuna* had hardly shaken off this vicious foe when the *Stonewall Jackson* plunged through the darkness and furiously rammed her, immediately backing off and repeating the blow. The *Varuna* kept on, and the moment her broadside guns bore, hurled five eight-inch shells into her enemy, which drifted to land, wrapped in flames. But the Union boat had been so mangled that she, too, was sinking.

Commander Boggs ran her ashore, threw out his anchor, and made fast to the trees on the bank. All this time he kept up a fire on the *Governor Moore*, which was making a vain effort to get up steam. When the last shots were fired on the *Varuna*, water covered the gun-trucks and entered the muzzles of the guns, and was sent out in spray and mist with the projectile itself. Within fifteen minutes after the Union boat was struck by the *Stonewall Jackson*, she was on the bottom of the river.

Sinking of the Varuna

"Who has not heard of the dauntless *Varuna*?
Who shall not hear of the deeds she has done?
Who shall not hear, while the brown Mississippi
Rushes along from the snow to the sun?"

The vessels of the first division held their assigned places until past the obstructions, when there was some confusion. The shots at the *Oneida* were too high, and she escaped serious damage. She rammed an enemy amidships, and left her in a sinking condition, and fired rapidly right and left. Just as she reached the *Cayuga*, a strange craft loomed out of the darkness. Commander Lee hailed, and the reply was made that the craft was the United States steamer *Mississippi*. The Union commander knew this was untrue from the distinguishing lights of the stranger, and he delivered a raking fire. It was, in fact, the *Governor Moore* which received this rough treatment.

The *Mississippi* and the *Pensacola* slackened speed when passing the forts, and opened with their guns, while the smaller craft passed on. The *Mississippi* was struck many times, but received no serious injury.

The Confederate ram *Manassas* was racing savagely down stream when she caught sight of the *Pensacola*, and under a full head of steam charged upon her. Captain Morris saw his enemy in time to dodge her, and the *Manassas* disappeared in the darkness. The next Union craft to get in her path was the *Mississippi*, which received a blow that opened an enormous chasm in her side, and she narrowly escaped sinking. Commander Smith, however, was able to proceed, and to cripple a Confederate steamer with a broadside.

The Mississippi Rammed

Captain Farragut with the second division did not reply until fifteen minutes after receiving the fire of the forts. He gave Fort St. Philip a broadside, and was groping through the smoke and gloom when a fire-raft, with a tug pushing at the rear, came flaming

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THE "HARTFORD" AND THE FIRE-RAFTS

toward the *Hartford's* port quarter. In attempting to escape this new danger the *Hartford* ran aground within a few rods of Fort St. Philip, which, recognizing her three ensigns and flag-officer's flag at the mizzen, opened a savage fire upon her; but providentially most of the shot passed too high.

The Fire-Raft Danger

But there was no escaping the fire-raft. The tug-boat shoved her against the *Hartford*, the flames entering through the port-holes, and darting like so many fiery serpents up the well-oiled rigging. The men showed perfect discipline, and under the orders of Commander Wainwright extinguished the flames before they had done much damage. Then the *Hartford* succeeded in backing into deep water, and kept up a heavy fire against Fort St. Philip as long as it was within range.

A few minutes later a large steamer, swarming with men, dashed at the flagship with the intention of boarding, but a well-directed shell sent her drifting down stream.

The *Brooklyn*, Commander Thomas T. Craven, closely followed the *Hartford*. She received a furious fire from Fort St. Philip. Discovering the peril of the *Hartford*, Captain Craven deliberately took position alongside, and opened with shell and shrapnel on the fort, so as to draw a portion of the enemy's fire. He held this position, though in danger of being sunk, until the *Hartford* had extricated herself.

Furious Fighting

That which the Union fleet dreaded more than anything else was the ram *Louisiana*, which report credited with being an invincible monster. Craven was emerging from the smoke of St. Philip when he caught sight of the *Louisiana*. Promptly the *Brooklyn* delivered her starboard fire of solid shot, whose crash against the ironclad was heard; but the prodigious sleet of iron glanced hundreds of feet up in the air. A shell entered the hull of the *Brooklyn* which, had it exploded, would have sunk her; but with a continuation of her marvelous good fortune she veered into the middle of the river, and continued steaming slowly against the current.

A few minutes later a steamer appeared, her forecastle crowded with men, evidently with the intention of boarding, but the *Brooklyn* turned aside, and delivered so destructive a fire of shells that the steamer, with the loss of many of her men, disappeared before the after-guns of the Union boat could be brought to bear.

The next attention was from the *Manassas*, which rammed the

Fort St. Philip Silenced

Brooklyn almost at right angles nearly amidships, and fired a gun at the same moment. Before the thirty-pounder Parrott could be used on the *Manassas*, she, too, vanished in the darkness. Still creeping cautiously upward, Captain Craven received the fire of a large steamer; but a broadside sent her drifting down stream, enveloped in flames. Then the guns of the *Brooklyn* silenced Fort St. Philip, and passing out of range, several gunboats of the enemy were destroyed. During the hour and a half that the *Brooklyn* was under fire she had eight men killed and twenty-six wounded.

GENERAL BENJAMIN F. BUTLER

Commander Bell, leading the third division, came under fire at about four o'clock with the *Sciota*, which received little damage. Next to him was the *Iroquois*, which exchanged a hot fire with the forts. She was attacked by the *McRae* and another vessel, but drove off the *McRae*, killing Lieutenant Huger, her commander. It was a curious coincidence that Lieutenant Huger was an officer on the *Iroquois* at the time he resigned his commission to enter the service of the Confederacy. The *Iroquois* suffered severely from the raking fire of Fort St. Philip, and when out of range was attacked by half-a-dozen steamers, but repelled and crippled them all. Later she captured a gunboat, with a good supply of ammunition and small arms, and took four hundred and thirty prisoners. She had eight killed and twenty-four wounded.

A Great Victory

The *Winona* and the *Itasca* soon received so terrible a fire that Commander Porter signaled them to retire. The *Itasca* was so badly injured that Lieutenant Caldwell ran her ashore to prevent her sinking. The *Pinola* suffered severely, and the *Manassas*, to escape a ramming from the *Mississippi*, ran to land, and the crew scrambled out and escaped in the woods. The *Mississippi* then riddled the ram.

It was daylight when the *Cayuga* opened fire on the Confederate batteries at Chalmette, three miles below New Orleans. After a brief resistance they surrendered. The loss of the Union fleet was thirty-seven killed and one hundred and forty-seven wounded. Of the Confederate land forces twelve were killed and forty wounded. The loss of the Confederate flotilla was no doubt equal to that of the Unionists.

Captain Farragut continued up the river to New Orleans, and, at noon on the 25th, sent Captain Bailey ashore with a demand for the surrender of the city. The troops intended for its defense had been withdrawn by General Lovell, and the governor of the state had fled. The mayor refused to haul down the Confederate flag; but the Unionists took possession, raised the national banner over the mint, and General Butler, who had received the surrender of the forts, took control of the city. Before the arrival of the Union forces the planters, at the request of the governor, burned a quarter of a million of bales of cotton. The people were in a desperate mood, and there was so much danger of an outbreak that Farragut placed his ships so as to command the city, and threatened it with bombardment. Formal possession of New Orleans was taken May 1.

New Orleans Occupied

General Butler ruled with an iron hand. One newspaper refused to print his proclamation, whereupon he took possession of the office and installed his own printers. On the 26th of April, William B. Mumford hauled down the United States flag from the mint, dragged it through the mud, and tore it to pieces. By order of General Butler he was arrested, tried before a military commission, and hanged June 7. On the 10th of May, a large amount of specie, deposited in the office of the Dutch consul, was seized because of evidence that it was intended for the use of the Confederate government. All the consuls in the city protested, but Butler would not yield. By his orders the circulation of Confederate money ceased in the latter part of May, and newspapers were suppressed for urging the destruction of the sugar and cotton crops.

General Butler aimed to be just to all. He would not allow the bakers or venders of food to charge more than the rates fixed by the city authorities, and two Union soldiers convicted of robbery were shot. He commuted the sentence of death passed by a court-martial on six Confederate soldiers who abused their parole by trying to raise a company to serve under General Beauregard. He

General Butler's Administration

MAJOR-GENERAL BENJAMIN F. BUTLER AND STAFF

made the city so clean, and the sanitary regulations so perfect, that not a case of yellow fever occurred while he was in the city.

By official order, July 25, all the slaves leaving the city by direction of their masters were declared free. Some weeks later the disloyal firms and corporations were taxed for the benefit of the poor. The property of the leading secessionists was confiscated, and all the inhabitants disarmed. About the same time a body of negro troops was organized into the Native Guards, and enrolled in the service of the United States. On the 24th of September, Butler ordered all Americans, male and female, to make an accurate return of their property, and to renew their allegiance to the Union, under a penalty of fine or imprisonment at hard labor. Surprising as it may seem, sixty thousand persons complied with this order.

Butler Superseded by Banks

General Banks superseded General Butler, December 14. He tried gentle measures; but turbulence was renewed, so that in self-defense he resorted to sternness again.

In the account of the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson and of the city of Memphis, we learned something of the work of our fleets on the western rivers. Although a serious blow was struck at the Confederacy by the capture of New Orleans, the Mississippi was not yet open to Union vessels; but the Confederates were driven from one position after another, and finally concentrated their strength at Vicksburg, which they fortified into a veritable Gibraltar.

Farragut, however, was the man to push every advantage he had gained. His orders were to "clear the Mississippi," and though the obstacles seemed almost insurmountable, he set about the task with the discretion and heroism characterizing everything he did for his country. By his orders, Captain Craven ascended the river with the *Brooklyn*. Baton Rouge and Natchez complied with the summons to surrender, but Vicksburg, on the 22d of May, returned a defiant refusal. The *Brooklyn* and *Richmond* anchored below the city, and Farragut arrived with his remaining ships, mortar-steamers, and mortar schooners, the last under Commander Porter. On June 26, the mortars began shelling the Confederate works, which extended for a distance of three miles. Arranging his vessels in two lines, Farragut, at three o'clock on the morning of June 28, set out to run the batteries. The vessels received a severe plunging and raking fire, but three hours later all had successfully passed except the *Brooklyn*, the *Kennebec*, and the *Katahdin*, at the rear. Through a misunder-

Before Vicksburg

standing they retired below. The Union loss was seven killed and thirty wounded, besides eight killed on the *Clifton* by escaping steam when her boiler was pierced by a shot. Joining the flotilla under Captain C. H. Davis, the two fleets took position above Vicksburg.

Confederate Hopes

The Confederates had been working night and day on two rams with which they expected to clear the Mississippi of all the Union vessels. They were not quite completed when Memphis surrendered, and they narrowly escaped capture at the time. One of them, the *Tennessee*, was burned, and the other, the *Arkansas*, was taken up the Yazoo, where, after much difficulty, she was finished.

On the 14th of July, Captain Davis sent the *Carondelet*, Captain Henry Walke, the *Tyler*, Lieutenant-Commander William Gwin, and the steam ram *Queen of the West*, Colonel Ellet, up the Yazoo on a reconnaissance. It was on the morning of the 15th, when the Union gunboats had ascended about six miles, that they unexpectedly met the *Arkansas* coming down stream under a full head of steam. The *Carondelet* was two miles behind the *Queen of the West*, which was a mile in advance of the *Tyler*; the last, turning about, ran back and gave the alarm. Being unfitted for such a contest, the Union boats retreated, firing upon the *Arkansas* as they ran. A running fight was kept up, during which considerable damage was done on both sides.

Entering the Mississippi, the *Arkansas*, amid a fire which injured her armor and killed and wounded a number of men, passed through the Union fleet and was moored under the Vicksburg batteries. On the 3d of August, the ram went to the assistance of General Breckinridge in an attack upon the Union garrison at Baton Rouge. Her machinery broke down repeatedly, and finally she ran aground. The *Essex* instantly steamed forward to attack her, whereupon the commander of the *Arkansas* escaped with his men to shore, and blew up the ram. By this time it was so clear to the government that the captured points on the river could not be held without the co-operation of a land force (which could not be spared at the time) that Davis with his flotilla withdrew to Helena, the lower squadron went to New Orleans, and the larger vessels were detailed for blockade duty.

Blowing up of the Arkansas

CHAPTER VIII

EVENTS OF 1862 (CONTINUED)

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

[*Author's Note:* When McClellan's Fabian policy of "masterly inactivity" was followed by the rather cautious activity that resulted in the capture of Yorktown by siege and the victory at Williamsburg, the House of Representatives was prompt to show its approval of his tardy aggressiveness by a series of resolutions. We suspect that the changing conditions of warfare are rapidly rendering siege operations and a Fabian policy generally the only ones remaining that will avoid the speedy annihilation of an army. For with magazine rifles effective at the distance of nearly a mile, and with batteries of steel rifled cannon throwing shells charged with high explosives to the distance of several miles with almost infallible accuracy, successful charges by infantry and cavalry become more and more hopeless. It is evident that the adjudication of national quarrels must be by judicial rather than by military methods. References for this chapter are to Greeley's "American Conflict," to Headley's "History of the Rebellion," and to Estvan.]

On the Tuckahominy River

A STUDY of the character of General George B. McClellan shows that his fatal defect as a military leader lay in his self-distrust and timidity. He was a dashing soldier in West Virginia, and attracted admiration by that quality, which was joined to personal bravery and excellent judgment. When called to conduct great campaigns, however, he seemed overweighted by the responsibility. He underestimated his own strength and overestimated that of the enemy. He shrank from "taking chances"; and when he moved, did so ponderously and hesitatingly, and was quickly frightened by any unexpected movement on the part of the foe.

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

When he succeeded General Scott he was the idol of the soldiers, and held the unbounded confidence of the North and of the government. He raised the Army of the Potomac to the highest degree of efficiency; but the weeks and months passed, and still no forward movement was made. The North grew impatient. This impatience became so marked and open in expression that it could not be disregarded. In the early spring of 1862, an advance was ordered against the Confederate army, which lay across the path to Richmond.

McClellan's Plan of Campaign

The plan of McClellan was to move forward from the lower part of Chesapeake Bay by way of Urbana, on the Rappahannock. When this town was occupied, the Confederates would be forced out of their positions near Manassas, and be compelled to relinquish their batteries erected on the lower Potomac to guard Norfolk and Richmond.

The objection made by President Lincoln to this plan was that it would leave Washington unprotected. To render the capital secure required a force that would seriously weaken the army marching against Richmond. The President favored moving around Alexandria on the intrenchments at Bull Run. He issued an order, January 27, directing that on February 22 following there should be a general movement of the land and naval forces against the Confederate position on the Potomac, and that, after providing for the defense of Washington, all the available force of the Army of the Potomac should be formed into an expedition for seizing and occupying a point upon the railway southwest of Manassas Junction.

McClellan was offended that this plan should be proclaimed without first apprising him that his own had been set aside. He still insisted upon the route by the Chesapeake, but the President would not yield. Meanwhile, the weeks slipped past, and the Army of the Potomac remained inactive.

McClellan's Tardiness

President Lincoln, who shared the general impatience with McClellan's tardiness, soon issued two orders, one directing the formation of the army into corps, and he appointed generals to the command of those corps; while the other directed the general advance, and placed the responsibility upon McClellan of carrying it out. Learning that General Joseph E. Johnston, commander of the Confederate forces at Manassas, was withdrawing his lines, the forward movement of the Army of the Potomac was begun on the 10th of

March, the day after the fight between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*. The plan of advance from the Lower Chesapeake had been sent to General Johnston by spies in Washington, and he prepared to frustrate it.

Advance of the Union Army

As soon as General McClellan learned the news, he determined to move the whole army forward, hoping to compel General Johnston to give battle. Two regiments of cavalry were sent in advance as a corps of observation. They reached the enemy's lines at Centerville at noon, and found masses of military stores and valuable property burning. The rest of the army pushed on to the neighborhood of Fairfax Court House, General McClellan himself going to Manassas.

The roads were abominable; and since the retreating enemy burned all the bridges behind him, and put every possible obstruction in the way, successful pursuit was impossible. The main part of the army therefore moved back to the vicinity of Alexandria, to be embarked for the advance against Richmond.

The victory of the *Monitor* over the *Merrimac* had removed all misgivings of the security of Fort Monroe as a base of operations, while the presence of the *Merrimac* in the James river excluded the Union forces from that stream, leaving the York and its tributaries the only line of water communication with Fort Monroe.

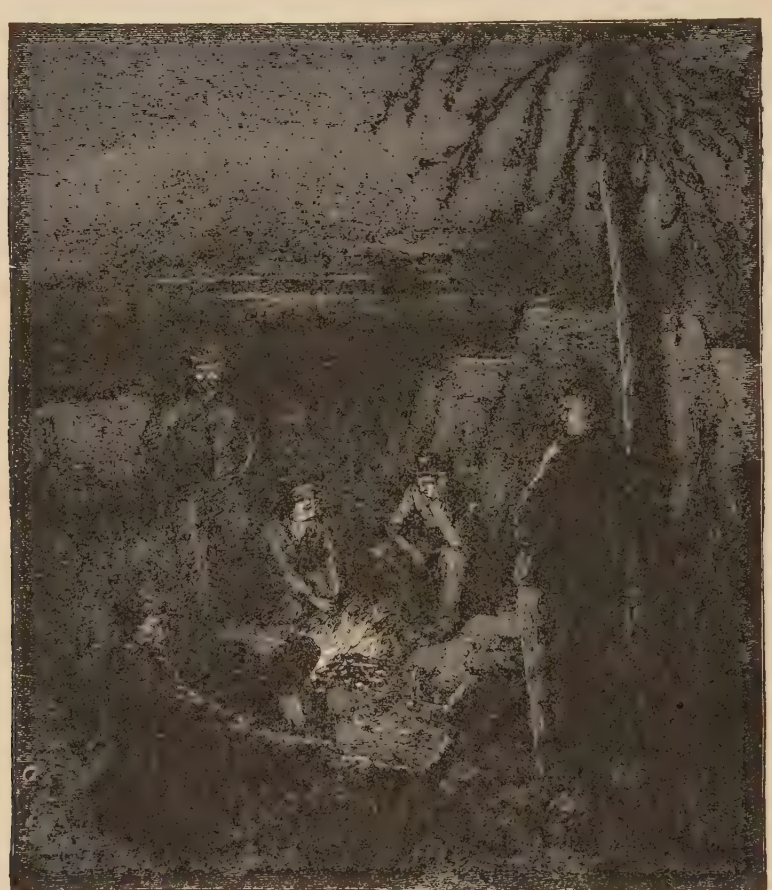
The first corps of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of four divisions, was commanded by General McDowell; the second, of three divisions, by General Sumner; the third, of three divisions, by Brigadier-General S. P. Heintzelman; the fourth, of three divisions, by Brigadier-General E. D. Keyes.

The forces left for the defense of Washington were under the command of Brigadier-General James Wadsworth, who was also military governor of the District of Columbia. This was an unfortunate political appointment, which brought little credit to the Union arms. The fifth army corps, to be commanded by Major-General N. P. Banks—another unfit appointment—was to be formed from his own and General Shields' division.

Stanton Made Secretary of War

Previous to this, Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, had resigned, and was succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, who was Attorney-General during the latter part of President Buchanan's administration. He was an ardent patriot, able, impetuous, imperious in his manner, but he consecrated all his energies to the service of his country.

The embarkation of the troops began on the 17th of March from Alexandria. It was a vast work, for the army was enormous, including, as it did, cavalry and artillery with armaments and supplies. There was much delay in the arrival of the sailing transports for the horses, because of an order for the steamers to leave Alexandria



"ALL QUIET ALONG THE POTOMAC"

without them. As a consequence, more than two weeks passed before the whole force was shipped to its new destination. General McClellan arrived at Fort Monroe on the 2d of April. He had less than sixty thousand men with him; the rest were to follow as the means of transportation could be furnished.

Before McClellan left Washington, the War Department had

placed Fort Monroe and its dependencies under his control, with authority to draw upon General Wool to the extent of ten thousand men. But on the night succeeding McClellan's arrival he received a telegram from the adjutant-general of the army, notifying him that by the President's order he was deprived of control over General Wool and the troops under his command, and was prohibited from detaching any of them without General Wool's permission.

McClellan Disappointed

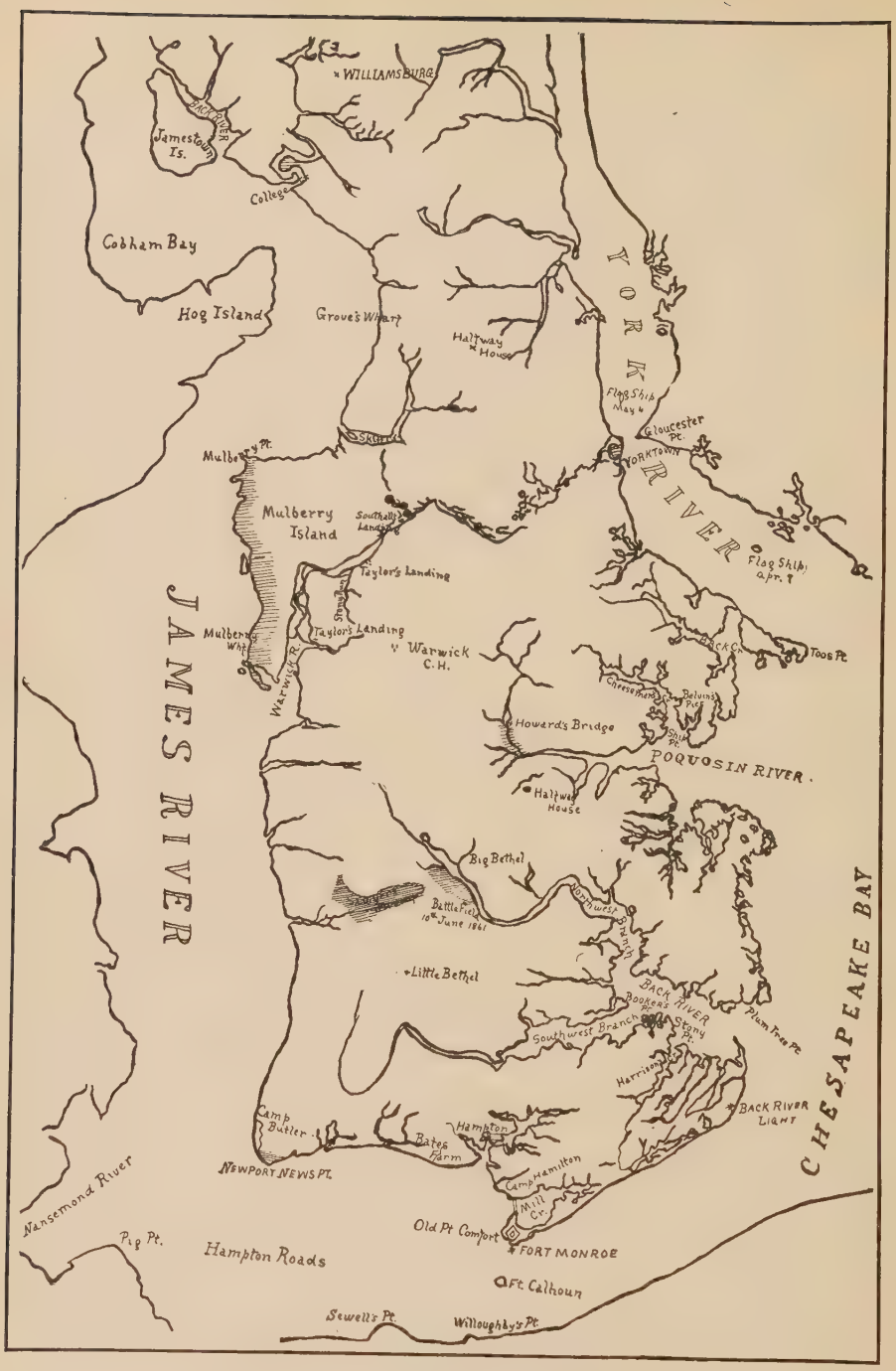
To McClellan's further disappointment, he soon received notice from President Lincoln that he felt obliged to order the detachment of Blenker's division, numbering ten thousand men, to the support of Fremont.

General McClellan intended, if serious resistance was offered by the works at Yorktown and Williamsburg, to land General McDowell's corps on the left bank of the York, or on the Severn. He then would be able to move upon Gloucester and West Point, and take in reverse whatever force the enemy had on the Peninsula, and drive him out of his position. That corps having been taken from McClellan, there was but one thing for him to do: attack the Confederate position in front.

The question was whether the place should be assaulted or invested. After a careful study of the enemy's works, McClellan was convinced that an assault would be attended with great loss of life, and was not certain of success. He therefore decided to reduce Yorktown by regular siege, when, had he gone forward, he could have marched directly up the Peninsula without giving any attention to Yorktown. He was opposed by General Magruder only, with a very weak line of defenses; but General Johnston thus gained time to send reënforcements to him.

The Siege of Yorktown

The gun was laid aside, and the axe and shovel taken up. There were few roads from Yorktown to any point of the lines, flanks, or rear, and it was therefore necessary to make them. Thousands of men were engaged for weeks in cutting avenues of communication through the malarious swamps, while multitudes swung the axes and covered the earth with layers of logs, filling the gaps with branches and covering all with soil. These "corduroy" highways answered well for light vehicles in dry weather, but April was a wet month, and the logs sank deeper and deeper under the weight of the heavy wagons and teams dragging siege pieces and mortars, until the roads became impassable.



YORKTOWN TO WILLIAMSBURG AND VICINITY

It was at this time that McClellan made use of a balloon for taking observations. He remained aloft for hours, during which he was frequently a target for the enemy's artillery and the rigging of the balloon was often cut by the shots.

The siege of Yorktown lasted a month. At last, all the parallels and constructing works were finished, and the assault was arranged for the 4th of May. Then the discovery was made that the Confederates had evacuated all their works, whereupon the Union troops marched in and took possession. The former had left all his heavy guns, numbering eighty, and a vast amount of warlike stores.

Withdrawal of the Confederates

General Johnston considered Yorktown impregnable against assault, but likely to fall before regular siege operations, or when the Union gunboats could pass up the York or James river. It may well be believed that the Confederate intrenchments were strong, when it is stated that two thousand negroes had been engaged upon them for fully a year, for none knew better than the Confederates themselves that this was the true line of advance for an opposing army.

Yorktown fell into our possession on Sunday morning. A vigorous pursuit was made by the forces under Heintzelman and Keyes. A number of skirmishes followed, and Stoneman, who, with his cavalry, had advanced close to Williamsburg, was encountered by so large a force of the enemy that he was obliged to fall back for the want of infantry support.

It should be stated that on the 22d of April, while the siege of Yorktown was in progress, General Franklin's division arrived and reported to General McClellan. They formed a part of McDowell's corps, and were kept on board the transports for a number of days, the commanding general intending to disembark them on the north bank of the York river, under the protection of the gunboats, but the events that followed rendered this unnecessary.

Before Williamsburg

The next important position confronting the Federals was the city of Williamsburg, the old colonial capital of Virginia. It stands on the narrow part of the peninsula between the James and York rivers, three miles from the former, about five from the latter, and ten miles north of Yorktown. It was growing dark when Stoneman was compelled to fall back from the front of Williamsburg, and Monday morning found the opposing armies face to face. As is generally the case, heavy engagements cause so great a disturbance of the

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elements that a storm is almost sure to follow. The rain was falling in torrents, and continued without intermission for thirty hours, turning the country into one vast area of water and mud.

A fight opened about eight o'clock, but under circumstances favorable to the Federals. The two roads leading to Williamsburg were crowded with troops. On the left were the divisions of Hooker and Kearny attached to Heintzelman's corps, with an enormous mass of wagons sunk deep in the mud and sandwiched between. On the right, two other divisions were floundering forward with the cannon immersed to their axles in the pasty earth.

GENERAL PHIL. KEARNY

McClellan says that the battle of Williamsburg was an accident, brought about by the rapid pursuit of our troops, the enemy being anxious to get beyond West Point before the Unionists could reach it by water.

Hooker's division, which was at the head of the column on the left road, and was advancing under general orders to march to Williamsburg, arrived on the morning of May 5, upon the scene of Stoneman's repulse the evening before, and with no suspicion of what was awaiting them.

At Williamsburg

This division was received with a brisk fire from the enemy's works, but it deployed in the abattis and sprang eagerly to battle. The attack, however, was piecemeal, as may be said; that is, the division came up little by little and unsupported, while the defense was admirably made by a compact body of twenty thousand men.

This kind of fighting was that for which Hooker was peculiarly

fitted, and he gallantly held his own for a time; but the odds were too great, and he was compelled to fall back, leaving, besides a number of his guns, two thousand of his men killed and wounded.

The Confederates followed as he retreated, but the division of Kearny, coming up, re-established the battle. The enemy was heavily reënforced, and the battle surged from the edges of the plain into the forest, both forces fighting furiously, Hooker, Heintzelman, and Kearny especially showing reckless bravery. It was in such struggles that Kearny was in his element, and won the name, among his comrades, of the "One-armed Devil."

Of this famous warrior, Estvan, in his "War Pictures from the South," says:

Phil. Kearny

"Kearny was of that chivalrous character so often to be met in the French army. He had lost an arm in the Mexican War, and he afterwards joined the French army as a volunteer aide-de-camp in the Italian campaign, greatly distinguishing himself both at Solferino and Magenta. Kearny brought up his men at the double-quick to support Hooker, although the execrable state of the roads somewhat retarded him, but he eventually reached the hard-pressed division. It was a fine sight to see Kearny lead on his men, eager for the fight as they were. He seemed to be ubiquitous, now leading on his center, now ordering up a battery, in another moment charging at the head of his troops. His striking, manly form was prominent wherever the fight was the thickest, setting a noble example to his soldiers. The opposing troops were soon intermingled in a regular *melée*, and both sides fought desperately. Owing to the state of the ground, our cavalry was not serviceable, much to the regret of its officers; it was also very difficult for the artillery to maneuver. The struggle, which had commenced on the verge of the wood, was gradually drawn into the forest itself, and here, under the cracking branches of venerable trees, amidst the roar of the artillery, many desperate hand-to-hand encounters took place, such as have seldom been witnessed in other wars."

Kearny's Aggressiveness

All of Kearny's aides had fallen around him, but their loss roused him to the fierceness of a tiger, and his example was worth a thousand men. No one could hold back with so valorous a leader, who flamed with the ecstasy of a charging war-horse.

Critical as was the condition of the conflict, that part of the army massed in the right road was forced to remain passive. A single

division only had come up, and the commanders could not throw them into the struggle when its supports were not in sight. They were delayed by the overflowing streams, and the teams were packed together in the roads in inextricable confusion. The sound of Hooker's musketry, however, was incessant. His division was broken and forced backward. At first his guns were heard on the front, then at one side, and then farther to the rear. Soon the balls began knocking off the limbs of the trees over the heads of the troops that were standing motionless. It was near the middle of the afternoon, and the generals saw that it would not do to remain idle any longer. A division rushed through the woods to flank those of the enemy that were driving Hooker, while a brigade passed the creek on an old mill site, which the foe had neglected to secure, and dashed out upon the flank of the Williamsburg works. This attack was unexpected by the Confederates, but they sent two brigades, which charged through the corn-fields to meet and drive back the Unionists. The latter with the same superb coolness awaited the coming of their foes, and poured a murderous fire of artillery into them. This did not check the rushing Confederates, who advanced to within a hundred feet of the flaming cannon, shouting, "*Bull Run! Bull Run!*"

GENERAL WINFIELD S. HANCOCK

Battle of Williamsburg

But they came only a few paces closer, when they wavered. It was then that General Winfield S. Hancock circled his cap above his head, and shouted to his soldiers the war-cry that was quoted a thousand times since of him:

"Now, gentlemen, give them the bayonet!"

A Gallant Charge

With the words ringing in the ears of his brave men, he headed his brigade in its resistless charge, the enemy scattering, and leaving the ground strewn with their dead. At this critical moment, General McClellan galloped on the field from Yorktown, from which he

had ridden hard on hearing that his presence was needed. It was growing dark, and a deluge of rain was falling, but the instant the commander was seen, he was received with loud cheers.

Estvan, whom we have just quoted, and who wrote from the Confederate side, thus describes the incident:

"Suddenly a shout of a thousand voices broke upon the air, like the rushing of a mighty wind from the wood. What did this portend? There was little time left for us to speculate. Charge after charge was made upon our men, and the news then spread that General McClellan with the main body of his army had arrived on the field of battle. This explained the loud cheers from the wood. Our men could no longer stand their ground. McClellan, in person, led on his troops into the midst of the fire. Magruder, now finding that the battle was lost, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and directed Hill's division, which had just come up, to cover the movement. All the wounded and a great portion of the baggage were left in the enemy's hands. The shades of night put an end to the fight; a heavy rain, too, began to fall; and these circumstances, fortunately, prevented the enemy from completely overwhelming us. Tired and worn-out, our troops returned to Williamsburg, where the excitement had become intense."

McClellan's Fierce Charge

Thus ended the battle of Williamsburg. The Union loss was 456 killed, 1,400 wounded, 372 missing, making a total of 2,228. The greater part of this loss fell upon Hooker's division.

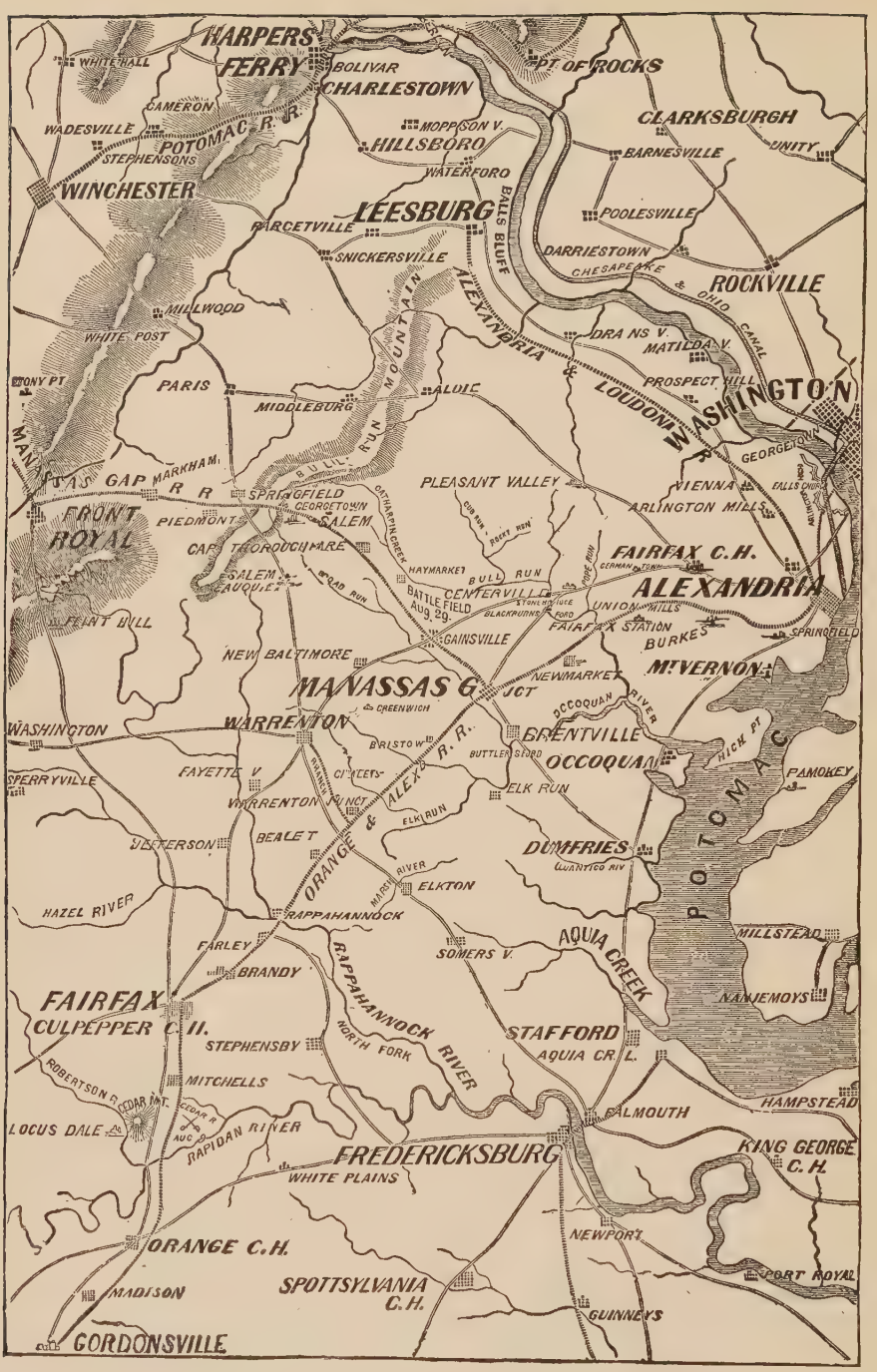
While in one sense the Union victory was not decisive, yet it caused a thrill of pride throughout the army and in the North.

On the 9th of May, the House of Representatives unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved,* That it is with feelings of profound gratitude to Almighty God that the House of Representatives, from time to time, hear of the triumphs of the Union armies in the great struggle for the supremacy of the Constitution and the integrity of the Union.

Action of Congress

"*Resolved,* That we receive with profound satisfaction intelligence of the recent victories achieved by the armies of the Potomac, associated from their localities with those of the Revolution, and that the sincere thanks of the House are hereby tendered to Major-General George B. McClellan for the display of those high military qualities which secure important results with but little sacrifice to human life."



THE SEAT OF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1862

Warm congratulations were sent to General Hancock by General McClellan for his bravery. Reënforcements also reached him, so that he was enabled to hold the works, and was not disturbed through the night.

Tuesday morning opened bright and clear, though the copious rains had left the roads in a horrible condition. Hooker sent word that the forts on the left had been abandoned and occupied by his men, and Hancock announced that the enemy had retreated. McClellan entered the city and visited the college building, from the top of which the Stars and Stripes was waving, and on the roof of which the signal corps established a station. The structure itself was used as a hospital, and was filled with wounded Confederates. General McClellan paid these poor fellows a visit, and spoke sympathetic words that were gratefully received.

After the Battle

It is worthy of mention that among the Union wounded at the battle of Williamsburg was a member of Company D, Seventh Maine regiment, named George B. McClellan.

After inspecting the town and selecting his headquarters, General McClellan placed his staff there, and went back with some of his aides to the battle-field. He addressed a number of the regiments in Hancock's brigade, telling them they had earned a name of which they and their children would always be proud, and that "Williamsburg" should be inscribed on their banners.

The Union troops were exhausted by their toilsome march through the mud and the fierce fighting in which they had been so long engaged. As has been stated, the rain fell continuously for thirty-six hours, and the roads were in so execrable a condition that it was hardly possible for the teams to drag an empty wagon. It will be seen that under these circumstances pursuit was out of the question.

Execrable Weather

The divisions of Franklin, Sedgwick, Porter, and Richardson came from Yorktown by water to the right bank of the Pamunkey, near West Point. The disembarkation of Franklin's division was completed early on the morning of May 7. A few hours later, he was savagely attacked by a powerful force of the enemy, but, after a brisk fight, the latter retreated. In this fight, the gunboats gave the Union forces much help.

Our troops waited at Williamsburg until supplies could be brought up and the roads had improved. Then, with their faces towards Richmond, the advance was begun or rather continued. The route

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

was along the left bank of the Pamunkey, the progress slow, for it was necessary that the troops should advance cautiously.

On the 16th of May, the headquarters of the army were at White House, at the head of navigation on the Pamunkey. The roads were still frightfully bad, so much so, indeed, that some of the trains were several hours in passing a single mile.

The Prince de Joinville gives the following description of this march:

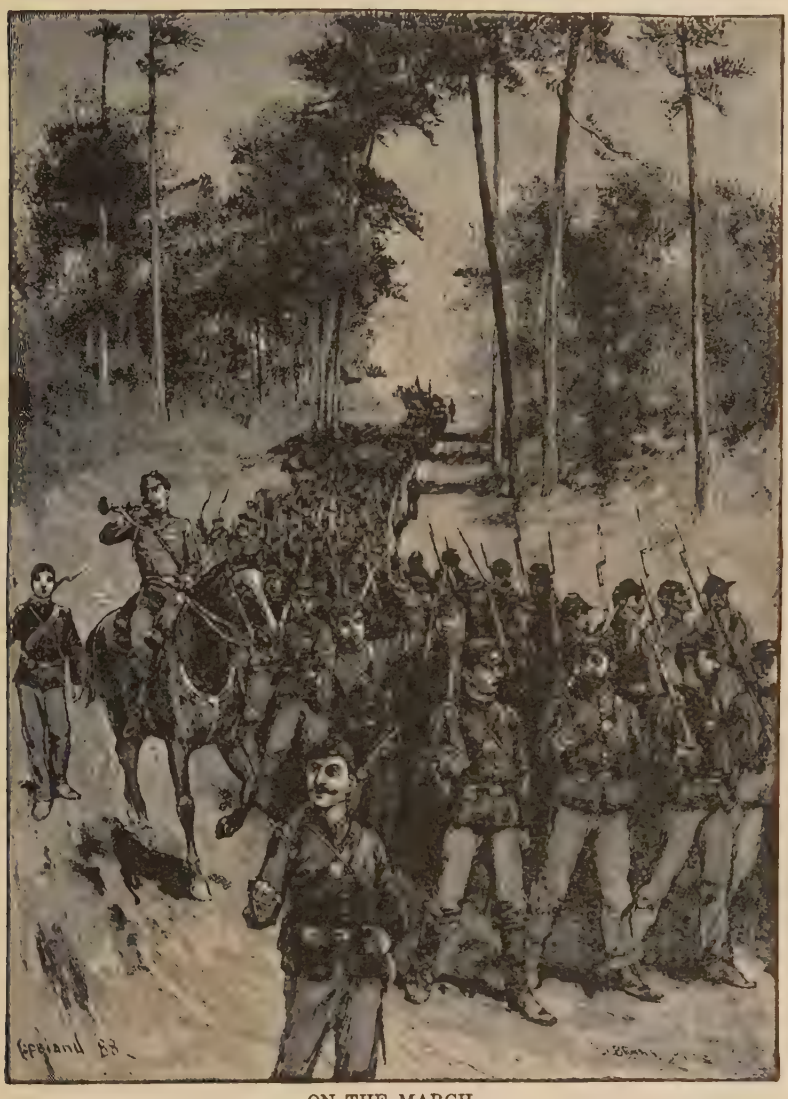
A Picturesque March

"Nothing could be more picturesque than this military march along the banks of a fine stream, through a magnificent country arrayed in all the wealth of spring vegetation. The winding course of the Pamunkey, through a valley in which meadows of the brightest green alternated with wooded hills, offered a perpetual scene of enchantment to our eyes. Flowers bloomed everywhere, especially on the river-banks, which abounded in magnolias, Virginia jessamines, azaleas, and blue lupines. Humming-birds, snakes, and strange birds of every hue sported in the branches and about the trunks of the trees. Occasionally we passed a stately habitation which recalled the old mansions of rural France, with its large windows in the roof,—around it a handsome garden, and behind it the slave cabins.

"As the army was descried in the distance, the inhabitants would hang out a white flag. One of the provost-marshal's horsemen would dismount at the door, and, reassured by his presence, the ladies, in their long muslin dresses, surrounded by a troop of little negresses with frizzled hair and bare legs, would come out upon the veranda and watch the passage of the troops. They were often accompanied by old men with strongly marked faces, long white locks, and broad-brimmed hats,—never by young men. All the men capable of bearing arms had been carried off willy-nilly by the government, to join in the general defense.

"So from point to point we moved along the river. The gunboats went first and explored the country before us; then came the topographical officers moving through the woods with an escort of cavalry, reconnoitering the country, and sketching by the eye and the compass provisional maps, which were photographed at headquarters for the use of the generals. The next day, with the help of these maps, the army would get into motion, mingled *en masse* with its immense team of wagons. About one-fourth of each regiment was

occupied in escorting the *matériel* of the corps, piled up—provisions, ammunition, tents, and furniture—on wagons, at the rate of ten to a battalion. But for the absence of women, we might have been



ON THE MARCH

taken for an armed emigration rather than for soldiers on the march.

"On May 16, we reached White House, a fine building, once the property of Washington, and now of his descendants, the Lee

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

family. The head of this family, General Lee, was one of the chief officers of the Confederate army; one of his nephews was in the Federal ranks. General McClellan, always careful to insist upon respect for private property, stationed sentinels around the residence of the hostile general, forbade any one to enter it, and would not enter it himself. He planted his tent in a neighboring meadow. This respect for Southern property has been made a reproach to the general in Congress: the opinion of the army did not take this direction; it indorsed the delicate feeling of its leader. This feeling was pushed so far that when a general's servants found one day, in an abandoned house, a basket of champagne, the general sent it back again conspicuously the next by an aide-de-camp. We may smile at this puritanical austerity, to which we are not accustomed in Europe. For my own part, I admit that I always admired it."

The York River railway, connecting Richmond and West Point, crossed the river at White House by a bridge which the Confederates had burned. It was soon rebuilt, however, and the rails relaid by the Unionists, who had in their ranks the representatives of every trade, and new cars and engines were promptly replaced. A vast depot was established at White House under the protection of the gunboats lying near. The army, in its further advance towards Richmond, kept along the line of this railway, upon which it depended for its supplies. On the 20th of May the Unionists reached the Chickahominy, where the spires and steeples of Richmond were plainly seen, only eight miles away.

In Sight of Richmond

It will be gathered, from what has already been related, that the Confederacy was following the policy of drawing in its lines and concentrating around Richmond. The abandonment of Yorktown without a fight was in accordance with this policy, the object being simply to delay the Union advance so as to gain additional time in which to defeat it. The same line of action required the Confederates to evacuate Norfolk, because General Huger and his garrison, numbering eighteen thousand, were wanted elsewhere. After destroying a large amount of property, Huger withdrew, and, on the 10th of May, Norfolk was entered by troops under General Wool.

Thus both shores of the James were now in the hands of the Federal troops, and Commodore Tatnall, the successor of Captain Buchanan in the command of the *Merrimac*, determined to take the famous ironclad up the James beyond the Federal lines. But the

pilot insisted that, owing to the prevalence of westerly winds, the depth of water had decreased, in consequence of which he could not pass Jamestown Flats, at which point the craft would be within reach of the Federal guns. The *Merrimac* had been lightened, thus exposing her sides below the iron plating, and she could be destroyed if within range of our cannon. Before daylight on the morning of the 11th of May, a brilliant glare was seen from Fort Monroe in the direction of Craney Island, and a half-hour later the ground trembled with a shock as of an earthquake. The *Merrimac*, as already stated, was run ashore near Craney Island, and blown up.

Blowing up of the Merrimac

The loss of this ironclad was a grievous blow to the Confederates, and there was so much dissatisfaction that a court of inquiry was ordered. The court decided that the act was unnecessary. Commodore Tatnall's defense was that his pilot willfully deceived him, so as to keep out of action. This was poor consolation to the Southern people, since the formidable craft, upon which they had placed so much reliance, was blown to fragments.

The James river was now open to our gunboats, but the delay had given the Confederates the time needed in which to fortify their capital against a naval attack. On the 15th, five of our gunboats, under Commodore John Rodgers, steamed slowly up the James, whose channel was so narrow that there was barely room for them to turn. They ran aground several times, but met with no obstructions until they reached Ward's Bluff, eight miles below Richmond. At this point, the boats found their advance disputed by Fort Darling, one hundred and fifty feet above them, while in the stream itself were almost impassable obstructions, composed of steamers, sailing vessels, and piles. Besides all this, the rifle-pits swarmed with sharpshooters, who kept their bullets pattering like hail about the gunboats, so that a removal of the obstructions was impossible.

Repulse of the Union Gunboats

Meanwhile, Fort Darling was active, its shot plunging down the one hundred and fifty feet with destructive effect. The elevation placed the sloping sides of the gunboats at a disadvantage, while the fort was beyond range of most of the guns. A rifle hundred-pound Parrott on the *Naugatuck* exploded during the fight, disabling the vessel, and it soon became apparent that the gunboats were simply receiving a tremendous pounding, without the power of striking an effective blow in return. Commodore Rodgers therefore gave the signal to cease action, and the boats dropped down the stream.

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865

McClellan was convinced that he had not enough men to insure success against the enemy. In those early days of the war when the Confederacy was in the flush of enthusiasm and hope, their

BLOWING UP OF THE MERRIMAC

armies were continually reenforced, and their brave men were led by generals whose skill and ability were of the highest order. But while each day added to the ranks of the Confederate army, those

of the Federals were rapidly depleting. Many had been killed in battle, others perished of disease, and McClellan found himself with about eighty thousand effective men under his command.

On the 10th of May, he sent a dispatch to the Secretary of War urging the reënforcement of the army with all the troops obtainable in eastern Virginia, and assuring him that, unless this was done, he should probably be called upon to fight double his own number in the intrenchments before Richmond, where all the advantages were with the enemy.

Four days later, McClellan sent a similar telegram to President Lincoln, saying that the time was ripe for striking a decisive blow, and he begged that all the disposable forces should be forwarded to him without delay. The Secretary of War replied to this on the 18th of May, the following being the material portion of his letter:

Instructions of the Secretary of War

"The President is not willing to uncover the capital entirely; and it is believed that, even if this were prudent, it would require more time to effect a junction between your army and that of the Rappahannock, by the way of the Potomac and York rivers, than by a land march. In order, therefore, to increase the strength of the attack upon Richmond at the earliest moment, General McDowell has been ordered to march upon that city by the shortest route. He is ordered, keeping himself always in position to save the capital from all possible attack, so to operate as to put his left wing in communication with your right wing; and you are instructed to cooperate so as to establish this communication as soon as possible, by extending your right wing to the north of Richmond.

* * * * * *

"When General McDowell is in position on your right, his supplies must be drawn from West Point; and you will instruct your staff officers to be prepared to supply him by that route.

"The President desires that General McDowell retain the command of the Department of the Rappahannock, and of the forces with which he moves forward."

McClellan's desire was that the reënforcements should be forwarded by water, since their arrival would be certain, and, inasmuch as the James river was open, their coming by that route would protect the left flank of our army. The labor and loss of time occupied in bridging the Chickahominy would have been saved, and the forces

being concentrated, there is reason to believe that the fall of Richmond would have followed. The ever-present fear of the capture of Washington prevented the President from complying with the request of McClellan.

The orders sent to the latter required him to extend his right wing to the north of Richmond, so as to establish communication with General McDowell. In case of the non-arrival of McDowell, this would place our right in great peril. McDowell did not arrive, and the advantage thus given the enemy was seized with expected promptness.

The communication from Secretary Stanton was accompanied by a copy of the instructions that had been sent to McDowell on the day before. In substance they were:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 17, 1862.

Orders to General McDowell

"GENERAL: Upon being joined by General Shields' division, you will move upon Richmond by the general route of the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad, co-operating with the forces under General McClellan, now threatening Richmond from the line of the Pamunkey and York rivers.

"While seeking to establish, as soon as possible, a communication between your left wing and the right wing of General McClellan, you will hold yourself always in such position as to cover the capital of the nation against a sudden dash of any large body of the rebel forces."

In order to understand the events that follow, we must glance at the movements in the Shenandoah Valley.

About the middle of April, General Banks had advanced along the north fork of the Shenandoah river, and established his headquarters at New Market, beyond the end of the railway that crosses the valley. On his right, at Franklin, a little town in the West Virginia mountains, was General Fremont, another civilian general. On his left, at Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock after its surrender by the Confederates, was General McDowell.

The Southern army opposing the Federals in the Shenandoah Valley was under the leadership of the famous Stonewall Jackson. He had fewer men than the Unionists, but he was more familiar with the country, and was the superior in ability of the officers pitted against him.

Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley

Banks advanced up the Shenandoah, and Jackson fell back before him. Banks telegraphed the government that Jackson was in a dangerous position and must soon be crushed. In truth Jackson was between the troops of Banks, marching from the east, and the advance of Fremont under Milroy, coming from the west. Withdrawing in his own rapid fashion, Jackson got away from Banks, and hastened to the relief of a Confederate detachment threatened by Milroy's division. The latter was routed, and then Jackson turned about and assailed Banks, as he was leading his troops over difficult mountain paths. He unexpectedly appeared before a small body of Federals, on the 23d of May, at Front Royal, near one of the passes in the Blue Ridge Mountains, at the point where the Shenandoah divides into the North and South Forks.

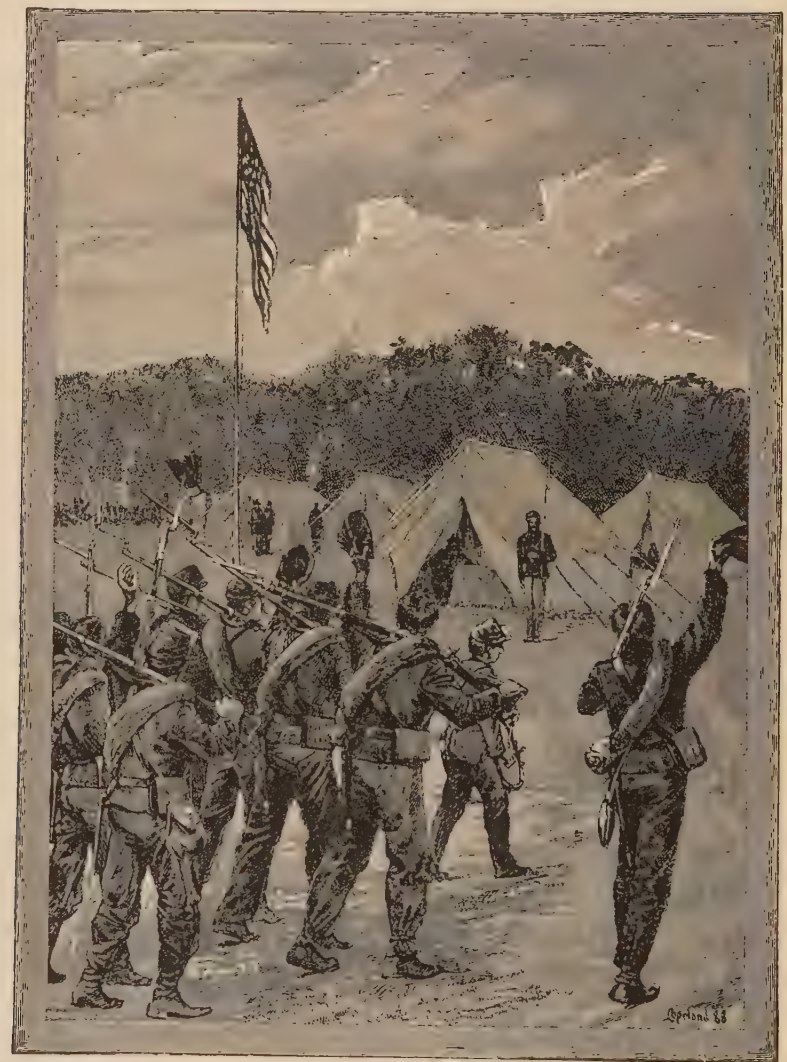
The detachment of twelve hundred men, commanded by Colonel Kenly, was overwhelmed, and nearly all killed, wounded, or captured, Kenly being among those slain. Banks' army had been reduced by the withdrawal of McDowell's corps of thirty thousand men. He sent reënforcements, however, towards Front Royal, but, awaking to his own peril, recalled them. He felt that he was in danger of being cut off himself, and began retreating with all speed towards Winchester.

Banks began his retreat on the 24th of May. His escort of the baggage-train soon collided with the enemy's pickets, and, being thrown into a panic, cut the traces of the horses and mules and came rushing tumultuously back on the main body. It was found, however, that the force of the enemy was only a detachment of Jackson's army, and Banks, forming his troops anew, forced his way through and reached Winchester that evening.

Retreating Troops Attacked

But even in that sorely harassed town he was not safe, and he kept on retreating. He encountered the Confederates again on the morning of the 25th, near Winchester, and was defeated and driven as far as Martinsburg, whence his men continued their flight to the Potomac. Of the fifty-three miles which they had retreated, thirty-five were passed over in one day. The Unionists reached the Maryland shore at noon on the 26th, hundreds of the soldiers having thrown away knapsacks and accouterments in their retreat. General Geary, who had been guarding the Manassas Gap railway, advanced to Manassas Junction, in consequence of the attack on Colonel Kenly at Front Royal, but his troops, fearing a similar fate, burned their tents and destroyed a large quantity of arms.

A few days before, on the 21st of May, General McClellan had sent another dispatch to the President, explaining the position of the army, and expressing his regret over the delay of McDowell in join-



RETURN FROM SKIRMISHING

McClellan's Dissatisfaction

ing him. He said that the march of McDowell upon Richmond by the land route indicated would uncover Washington as fully as its movement by water; that the Confederates could not advance by

Fredericksburg, and that in the event of such an advance, which he regarded as extremely improbable, their route would be by Gordonsville and Manassas. He asked in conclusion that the extent of his authority over General McDowell might be distinctly defined, since a divided command could not fail to result disastrously.

The President's reply to this reached McClellan on the 24th. It suggested a plan of military movement against General Anderson in concert with McDowell, and conveyed the gratifying assurance that the latter's division, strengthened by Shields' command, making a total of nearly fifty thousand men, would begin to move on Monday, the 26th. After joining McClellan, the whole force would be under his command.

The President's Reply

The following dispatch, however, reached McClellan a few hours later:

"May 24, 1862.
"From Washington, 4 P. M.

"Major-General George B. McClellan:

"In consequence of General Banks' critical position, I have been compelled to suspend General McDowell's movements to join you. The enemy are making a desperate push upon Harper's Ferry; and we are trying to throw General Fremont's force and part of General McDowell's in their rear.

A. Lincoln, *President.*"

It will be understood that the brilliant campaign of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley was a part of the defense of Richmond. The Confederate authorities appreciated the importance of preventing the reënforcement of McClellan, and by threatening Washington in the manner described they succeeded in doing so. The alarm was so great in the capital that dispatches were sent to the governors of the loyal states asking that militia should be forwarded without delay to the defense of the city. To this panic was due the countermanding of the order for McDowell to reënforce McClellan. He was directed instead to put twenty thousand troops in motion for the Shenandoah, so as to capture Jackson and Ewell, either with or without the help of Fremont.

Alarm in Washington

McDowell saw the unwisdom of the order which would send him where he could do no good, and prevent him from going where he was so urgently needed. He instantly telegraphed the Secretary of War:

"The President's order has been received, and is in process of execution. This is a crushing blow to us."

The President replied:

"I am highly gratified by your alacrity in obeying my orders. The change was as painful to me as it can possibly be to you or to anyone. Everything now depends upon the celerity and vigor of your movements."

General McDowell's reply to this was in writing, the material portion being as follows:

"Headquarters, Department of the Rappahannock,
"Opposite Fredericksburg, May 24, 1862.

"His Excellency the President:—

General McDowell's Protest

"I obeyed your order immediately, for it was positive and urgent; and perhaps, as a subordinate, there I ought to stop; but I trust I may be allowed to say something in relation to the subject, especially in view of your remark that everything depends upon the celerity and vigor of my movements. I beg to say that cooperation between General Fremont and myself, to cut off Jackson and Ewell, is not to be counted upon, even if it is not a practical impossibility; next, that I am entirely beyond helping-distance of General Banks, and no celerity or vigor will be available as far as he is concerned; next, that by a glance at the map it will be seen that the line of retreat of the enemy's forces up the valley is shorter than mine to go against him. It will take a week or ten days for the force to get to the valley by the route which will give it food and forage, and by that time the enemy will have retreated. I shall gain nothing for you there, and lose much for you here. It is, therefore, not only on personal grounds that I have a heavy heart in the matter, but I feel that it throws us all back, and from Richmond north we shall have all our large mass paralyzed, and shall have to repeat what we have just accomplished."

Jackson's Brilliant Work

General Jackson having done all that he set out to do, began his retreat up the Shenandoah Valley, finishing it with the same skill with which he had advanced. His familiarity with the country was invaluable to him, and he was thus enabled to repeatedly dodge between the Federal forces that were crowding upon him from the west and the east. He fought a battle with Fremont on the 8th of June at Cross Keys, securing the passage of his army over the bridge at Port Republic, and the next day repelled General Shields not far away. He then safely made his way to the defenses of Richmond, an achievement that again demonstrated the brilliancy of this great Confederate general.

The Richmond and York River railway extended nearly easterly from Richmond to White House, where was located the depot of supplies for the Union army. Since this was what might be called the artery that supplied the heart of the immense organization with the blood without which it could not live, the paramount necessity of keeping open communications with the base of supplies is obvious.

The Chickahominy river flows in a southeasterly direction, and is crossed both by the railway named and the Virginia Central railway, which runs northerly. To keep the line secure it was necessary to place a part of our troops on one side of the Chickahominy and a part on the other. This is generally an imprudent thing to do, but

in this emergency it had to be done. Furthermore, General McClellan had been directed to extend his right wing so as to unite with McDowell, who never came. Since the order to McDowell had

AWAITING THE CHARGE

not been recalled but only suspended, McClellan had no choice but to throw out his line as directed.

McClellan received news, on May 26, that a considerable Confederate force was in the direction of Hanover Court House to the

McClellan's Communications Threatened

right and rear of his army. Since this threatened his communications, General Fitz-John Porter's division was directed to march at daybreak on the morning of the 27th to dislodge the enemy. Porter set off in the midst of a heavy rain-storm, and, coming up with the enemy, attacked and defeated him. The Confederates retreated, followed by the Union cavalry and a portion of the infantry. The bridges over the Pamunkey were burned and the adjacent railway destroyed, after a fight in which seven hundred of the enemy were taken prisoners.

The services of Porter were valuable, for it put it beyond the power of the foe to communicate with Fredericksburg by rail, or with Jackson except by a long, circuitous route. Furthermore, the clearing of the right flank and rear opened the way for the advance of McDowell, had he been allowed to join McClellan.

Two of the Union corps, forming the left of the main army, had been pushed beyond the Chickahominy, and, in order to keep secure communication between them and those on the other side, it was necessary to build several bridges. The difficulty of this work is thus referred to by Prince de Joinville:

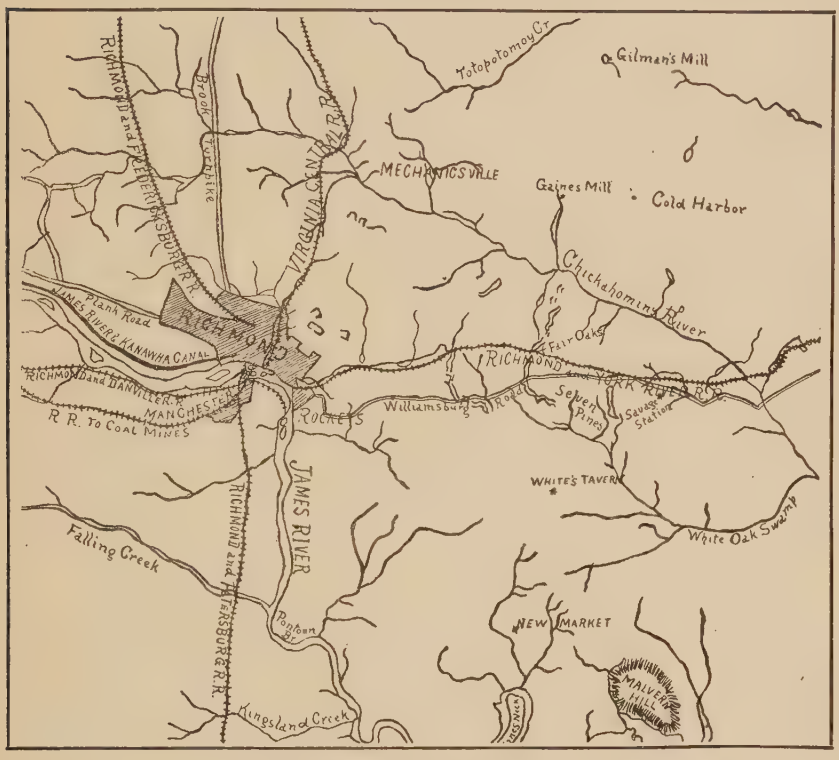
Great Handicaps

"Unfortunately, everything dragged with us. The roads were long in drying, the bridges were long in building. 'Never have we seen so rainy a season,' said the oldest inhabitant. 'Never did we see bridges so difficult to build,' said the engineers. The abominable river laughed at all their efforts. Too narrow for a bridge of boats, too deep and too muddy for piers, here a simple brook some ten yards wide, flowing between two plains of quicksand, in which the horses sank up to the girths, and which offered no bearings,—there divided into a thousand tiny rivulets spread over a surface of three hundred yards, and traversing one of those wooded morasses which are peculiar to tropical countries,—changing its level and its bed from day to day, the river, in its capricious and uncertain sway, annulled and undid today the labors of yesterday, carried on under a burning sun and often under the fire of the enemy."

The two corps on the south side of the Chickahominy, on the 30th of May, were those of Keyes, comprising the divisions of Couch and Casey, and that of Heintzelman, embracing those of Hooker and Kearny. Casey's division numbered five thousand, and was at Fair Oaks, a station on the York River railway. A redoubt and rifle-pit had been made, and an abattis was in front of them.

Couch's division, eight thousand in number, was at Seven Pines, a little less than a mile to the rear, while Heintzelman's corps, twice as numerous, was farther to the rear. Kearny's right flank was on the railway, and Hooker's left on White Oak Swamp.

General Joseph Johnston, the Confederate leader, had under his orders, at this time, an army consisting of four divisions, commanded



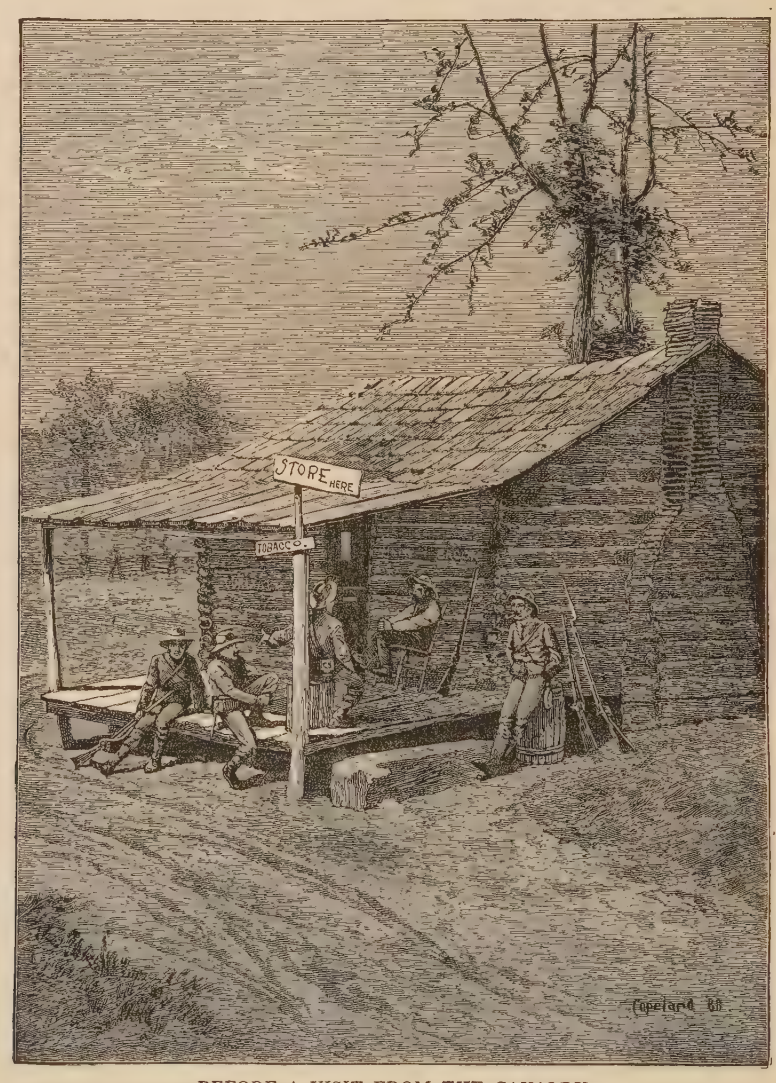
RICHMOND AND VICINITY

Confederate Plans

by Generals Longstreet, Smith, D. H. Hill, and Huger, all of whom were West Pointers, and had served in the army of the United States. They determined to attack the left wing of the Unionists on the morning of May 31, but it rained incessantly, and the roads became so nearly impassable that one Confederate division did not arrive in time to take part in the battle.

The attack planned by the Confederates was excellent. Longstreet and Hill with thirty-two thousand men were to advance along the Williamsburg road; Huger with sixteen thousand was to march

down the Charles City road to assault the Unionists' left flank, and Smith with an equal number was to move north along the Nine-Mile road against the right flank, and at the same time covering the Con-



BEFORE A VISIT FROM THE CAVALRY

federate left. Had these plans been carried out, the Army of the Potomac might have been crushed; but, as we have stated, the tremendous rains interfered, and Huger did not appear at the appointed

time and place. His artillery was inextricably stuck in the mud, and the advance of his troops stopped.

Hour after hour passed, until Longstreet grew impatient and determined to attack without waiting for him. Hill's division was ordered to open the battle at two o'clock in the afternoon. General Casey's division of the Union army was the first to receive the shock. The assault was so furious and in such overwhelming numbers that many of the Unionists fell back precipitately, and the camp was captured, together with the hospital and baggage wagons.

The Confederate Attack

Meanwhile, Casey sent word to the Federals on the other side of the Chickahominy that he was hard pressed and in need of help. Couch's division withstood the repeated assaults of the enemy, the White Oak Swamp affording a secure protection to our left. Some time passed before General Sumner could effect the passage of the stream, but he succeeded finally by means of two hastily constructed bridges.

By this time, that division and the right of the Union left wing were driven back with great loss. General Johnston personally directed the attack, but it seems to have been the fate of this officer to become severely wounded in almost every engagement in which he took part, that misfortune having befallen him ten different times. The splinter of a shell knocked him from his horse, and in his fall he broke two of his ribs. This threw the command upon General G. W. Smith. Jefferson Davis was also present as an "interested spectator." The fall of Johnston caused a confusion among the Confederates for a time, much to the advantage of the Federals, but the latter continued to retreat until darkness put an end to the bloody struggle.

General Johnston Wounded

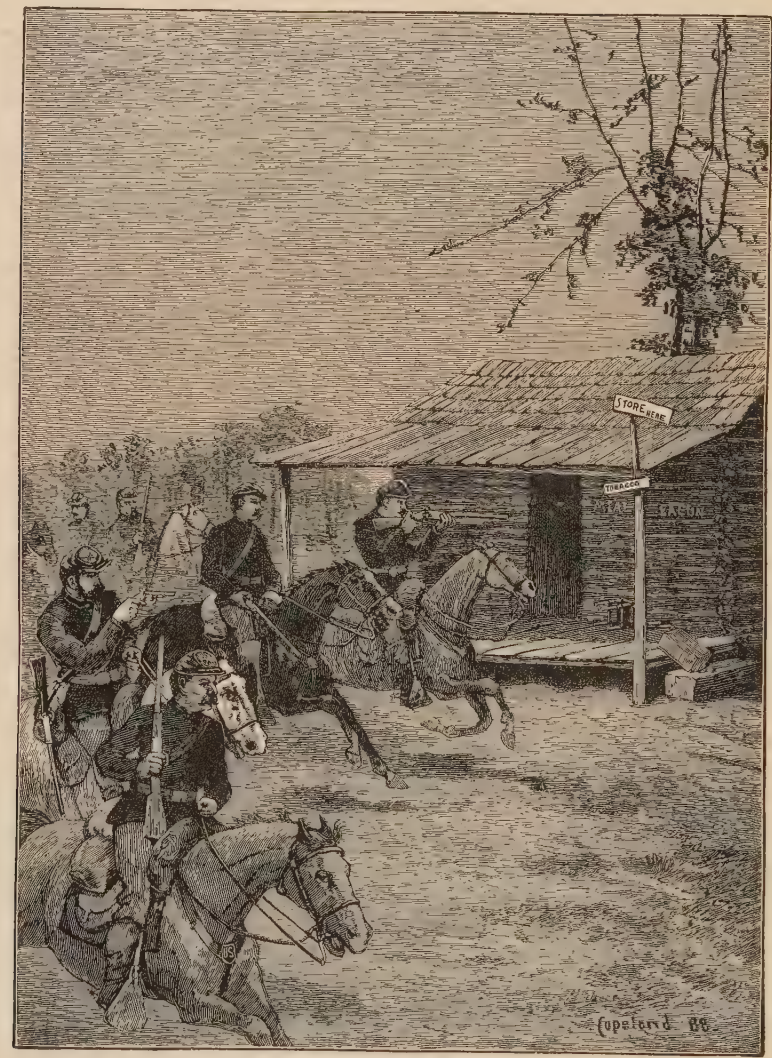
During the whole of the day, the Union right wing had remained on the left bank of the Chickahominy, and General McClellan did not learn of the check his advance corps had received until about nine o'clock in the evening. He had ridden as far as Dispatch Station on the Richmond and Westport railway, where he found trains filled with wounded and piles of stores blocking up the station.

It was an anxious moment to the leader of the Union army. He was suffering from illness, and was much fatigued. The night was intensely dark, and, from the confused and contradictory accounts, it was impossible to form a correct idea of the Confederate position. It looked as if the morrow would bring disaster to the Union arms.

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865

Both armies bivouacked that night on the field for which they had so fiercely contended. The Confederates were reënforced by Huger's delayed division.

The battle was renewed the next morning—the first day of summer—the Federals making the attack. The Confederates fell back, and our troops once more stood on the ground they had occupied before the first day's action. General McClellan arrived near the



A VISIT FROM THE CAVALRY

A Confederate Defeat

close of the battle. The difficulty of crossing the Chickahominy had prevented his coming at an earlier hour, and little was left for him to do, but that which he saw would have touched a heart of stone. The forest paths were thronged with soldiers carrying off the wounded, and every farm-house was filled with the wretched sufferers, for whom all that was possible was done. Many were compelled to lie outside, exposed to the flaming sun, where their agony at times was more than they could bear.

The battle of Fair Oaks was a Confederate defeat. The losses on each side were about seven thousand. The wounding of General Johnston brought forward General Robert Edward Lee as the leader of the Confederate armies.

Checked by the Chickahominy

Although the battle was, as we have stated, a Union success, yet the result was indecisive. Could the thirty-five thousand troops that were still on the south side of the Chickahominy have been thrown forward, the result must have been more crushing to the enemy; but the interposing river was more swollen than the day before, and the divisions of Porter and Franklin could not effect its passage. It came about, therefore, that the same cause which prevented the arrival of Huger, and the probable defeat of the Union army, acted to prevent the overthrow of the Confederate forces.

The end of the battle found McClellan's right wing on the farther side of the river, with the enemy still in the woods in front of Richmond, and the capture of that city as far off as ever. The left wing of the Federals encamped upon the battle-ground, but before long the health of the men began to suffer from their hideous surroundings. The malarious swamps became a fountain of horrors, because of the hundreds of unburied bodies, while the water of the streams from which the poor soldiers were obliged to slake their thirst was polluted by the abominations that drained into them. The air throbbed with heat, and the mortality became so appalling that it threatened to work more ill to the Union army than could the guns of the enemy.

McClellan's elaborate field-works extended in a semicircle from the White Oak Swamp to the Chickahominy, and were so arranged as to inclose in their sweep the line of railway and the several roads and bridges communicating with his right wing.

A Period of Inactivity

Now came a period of comparative inactivity, lasting three weeks, during which the siege of Richmond was steadily pressed. All the Union army, with the exception of the corps of Franklin and Fitz-

John Porter, was moved across the Chickahominy. General McClellan desired to assume the offensive, for the delay was more valuable to the enemy than to him, but his timidity prevented him from doing so until the two wings of his army were placed in full communication with each other by bridges strong enough to withstand the treacherous Chickahominy.

Never in the history of that section of the country was such frightful weather known. McClellan's telegrams continually referred to this. Thus on the 7th of June he telegraphed the Secretary of War:

"The whole face of the country is a perfect bog, entirely impassable for artillery, or even cavalry, except directly in the narrow roads, which renders any general movement, either of this or the rebel army, utterly out of the question until we have more favorable weather."

Three days later he said:

Restrained by the Weather

"I am completely checked by the weather. The roads and fields are literally impassable for artillery—almost so for infantry. The Chickahominy is in a dreadful state: we have another rain-storm on our hands.

"I shall attack as soon as the weather and ground will permit; but there will be a delay, the extent of which no one can foresee, for the season is altogether abnormal."

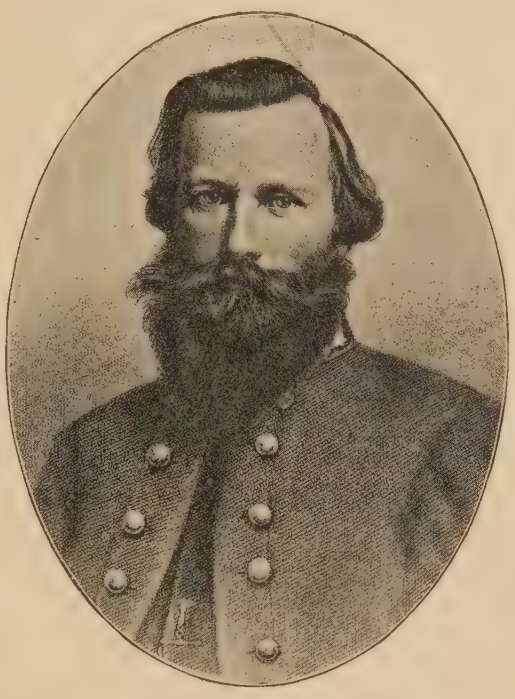
General McClellan had no expectation of a Confederate attack in his rear, but about the middle of June he was startled by an exploit of the daring raider, J. E. B. Stuart and his cavalry. The railway line connecting the Union camp with its base of supplies at White House was left almost unguarded, the depots being protected only by a small force.

Stuart left Richmond on the 13th of June with fifteen hundred horsemen, and moved along the railway line communicating with Fredericksburg. Reaching Kilby's Station, he turned eastward and bivouacked near Hanover Court House, twenty-two miles north of Richmond. Everything was conducted with the utmost secrecy. The men themselves did not know where they were going, the movements being as stealthy as those of a party of Indians, lest the Union pickets should discover the presence of the enemy.

Stuart's Raid

The dense forest helped the raiders, and at daybreak, on the 14th, they appeared at Hanover Court House, where they drove in a small force of cavalry, and afterwards defeated a larger body of mounted troops. Burning the camp, Stuart determined to reach the rear of the Union army by a circuitous march. He kept along the southwestern bank of the Pamunkey toward Tunstall's Station on the Richmond and West Point railway.

Reaching Garlick's Landing, on the river, a squadron of cavalry was detached to burn whatever stores could be found, together with the vessels lying near. While this was going on, Stuart with the rest of his men rode to Tunstall's Station, cut the telegraph wires, and surprised the weak guard that was stationed there.



GENERAL J. E. B. STUART

Not long after, Colonel Ingalls, commanding at White House, learned what was taking place by a train conveying troops which was fired into by the Confederates. He at once took measures for defending the stores, and the shipping in the river, and made ready to escape to Yorktown, if it became necessary. Some distance away, Stuart captured a train of forty wagons, took a number of prisoners, burned a railway bridge, and then, in the middle of the night, made for the Chickahominy on his way home. He had to throw up a temporary bridge over that stream, but it was done, and Richmond was safely reached. While the raid had inflicted no great loss on the Federals, it gave the Confederates a self-reliance which was of immense service to them.

Uneasiness in Washington

At this time, too, the specter of Stonewall Jackson caused uneasiness in the minds of McClellan and the authorities at Washington. No certain information could be obtained of his whereabouts or purposes; but there could be no doubt that he would soon be heard from, and that his blows would be effective. The rumors that reached McClellan of his old classmate and his corps were disquieting, and the alarm was not diminished by the fact that they were only rumors.

McClellan continued to beg for reënforcements. The replies of the Secretary of War were inspiriting. He told the general on the 11th of June that McCall's force, forming a part of McDowell's corps, was on the way to reënforce him, and that the rest of the corps would soon follow. McCall's division, some eleven thousand strong, arrived on the 12th and 13th, but no more came until after the retreat to Harrison's Landing.

McDowell was anxious to join McClellan. He expressed himself to that effect repeatedly, and was confident that, after being ordered to march several times to effect the junction, it would be done; but it never was, and, on the 27th of June, the corps of Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell were consolidated into one and called the Army of Virginia. The command was given to Major-General Pope, who had recently come from the west, where he had done good fighting, but whose boasting on assuming control of the army in Virginia was in bad taste, and was soon followed by decisive defeat.

The Army of Virginia

The raid of Stuart showed McClellan his weakness, and on the 18th of June he arranged to have transports with supplies of provisions and forage sent up the James under a convoy of gunboats. They reached Harrison's Landing so as to be of service to the troops arriving there about the same time.

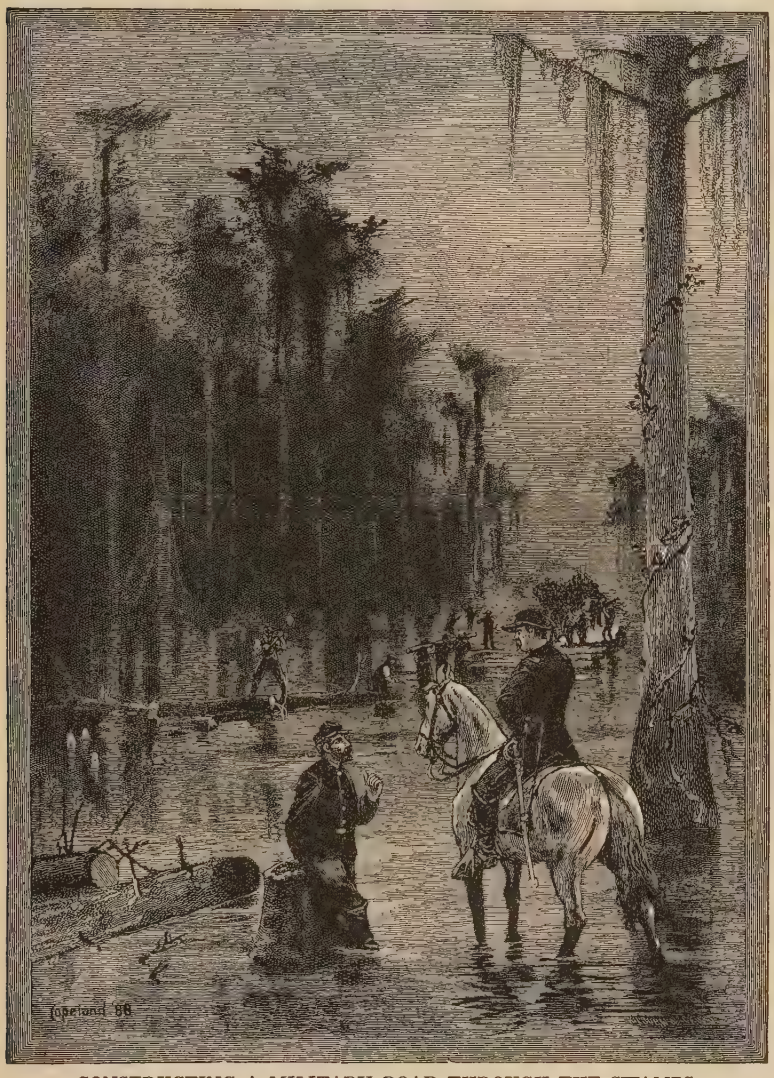
McClellan believed that Stonewall Jackson was concentrating a force at Gordonsville, on the railway leading to Richmond, and that he meant to attack the Federal rear on the 28th of June. McClellan decided to anticipate such demonstration by advancing along the Williamsburg road, in the vicinity of the Seven Pines.

This movement was made on the 25th, by which time the bridges over the Chickahominy had been finished, and the lines of intrenchment completed. Nearly a mile was gained with small loss. This placed the corps of Heintzelman and Sumner in a good position for supporting the main assault, which General Franklin was to make the next day.

Alarm of McClellan

That night the specter of Stonewall Jackson assumed a startling reality. He was at Hanover Court House with a large force, while General Lee, in front of McClellan, had received reënforcements from Beauregard's army. McClellan sent a dispatch to the Secretary of War, stating that he believed the Confederate force was at least two hundred thousand in number, and that, if these reports were true, he would have to contend against vastly superior odds.

McClellan had meant to make a final attack on the 26th, but the enemy anticipated him and assailed his right with a strong body that crossed the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge near Mechanicsville.



CONSTRUCTING A MILITARY ROAD THROUGH THE SWAMPS

General D. H. Hill had taken possession of Mechanicsville, and then, in conjunction with General Branch, assailed the Union lines at Beaver Dam creek. Descending the right bank of that stream,

which flows into the Chickahominy, the Confederates confronted the Unionists on the other side.

The former endeavored to cross, but were repulsed by the furious fire from the breastworks crowning the left bank. They then took a position on the right bank, and at nine o'clock that night the fight ended without any definite results.

It was the intention of General Lee to cut off that portion of the Federal army which was encamped on the left bank of the Chickahominy. Though he failed, General McClellan still felt so insecure that he determined to transfer his base of operations to the James river—a purpose which he had been meditating for several days.

Retreat of McClellan

This was a prodigious task, for it involved the marching of an army of ninety thousand men, including cavalry and artillery, a distance of seventeen miles. In addition, a string of four thousand wagons and a large siege train had to be transported, while nearly three thousand oxen must be driven. There was but a single road for the wagons, the train, and the cattle, but it was in fair condition. It was crossed by several other roads, however, along which it was more than probable that the Confederate attacks would be made. The movement was a dangerous one, but its necessity could not be escaped.

It will be seen that it was of the first importance that the purpose of McClellan should be kept from the enemy as long as possible. Colonel Ingalls at White House was ordered to run the cars to the last minute, loading them with provisions and ammunition, to Savage's Station, to forward all the supplies he could to James river, and to destroy the remainder.

These orders were carried out with so much promptness that almost everything was saved. A complete railway train, engine, tender, cars, and all, was sent headlong over the ruined bridge into the river. Nothing but three siege-guns was left for the enemy.

On the night of June 26, General McCall, on the extreme right of the Union position, was directed to fall back on the bridges across the Chickahominy near Gaines' Mill, joining the other troops of Porter's corps, and to make a stand so as to give the army time to change its position.

Attack by the Confederates

At daylight on the 27th, General D. H. Hill's Confederate division, which had been held in check the day before, opened a heavy fire of artillery on General McCall, who retreated farther down stream.

Other Confederates crossed the Chickahominy near Mechanicsville, and soon the whole of their line, except the right wing under General Magruder, was ordered to advance.

The retreating corps of General Porter, now stationed near the bridges, was attacked, but stood firm, and the Confederates finally gave way in some disorder. But they were reënforced, and, forming anew, advanced again to the attack, with no better success, however, than before. It is said that the Nineteenth North Carolina lost eight standard-bearers, and most of its officers were either killed or wounded.

A Confederate Victory

As night approached, the Confederates brought up large bodies of reserves, and the Union left, where the troops were exhausted from fighting all day, staggered and were driven back. The alarm communicated to the center of the Federal lines, which retreated until supported by the fresh brigades of Generals Meagher and French. Their presence, and the opening of a battery that had been placed in position, stopped the pursuit of the enemy, and night soon settled over the scene. The battle of Gaines' Mill was a victory for the Confederates, who captured twenty guns and inflicted a Federal loss of nine thousand men. But they had been checked, and the time so sorely needed was secured.

During the following night, the immense wagon train, the siege train, the thousands of oxen, and other material moved toward James river. The bridges over the Chickahominy were then destroyed, and the corps of General Keyes was posted so as to command the road across the White Oak Swamp and the principal lines by which the Union army could be annoyed by the enemy. Sad necessity compelled the abandonment of the wounded where they lay, and many must have perished alone and uncared for.

Disappointment of Confederates

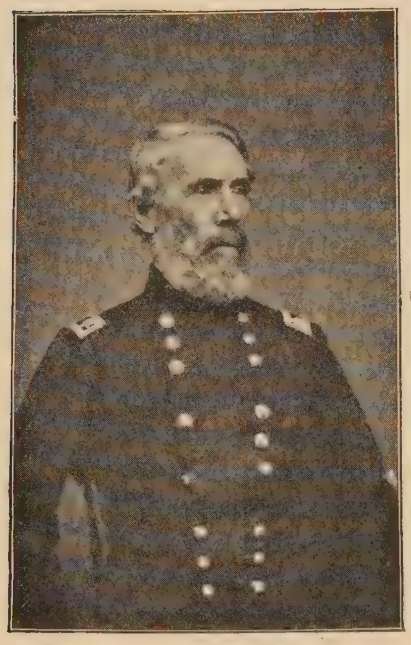
The Confederates were confident that McClellan would be cut off and that the capture or destruction of his army was inevitable. They were disappointed to find that the immense stores at White House had been taken beyond their reach, and that the several divisions of the army had crossed the river.

Both armies were worn out from their severe fighting, and the following day, June 28, was mainly devoted to burying the dead, attending the wounded, gaining rest, or preparing for the stirring events that every one knew were at hand.

The Union and Confederate armies were now divided by the

Chickahominy, most of the enemy being on the left bank, while all of McClellan's forces were united on the right bank. Before the foe could cross, the bridges must be rebuilt, and it was impossible to accomplish this in time.

It was not until the afternoon of the 28th, that General Lee learned that McClellan was on the march to James river to form a junction with the Union fleet. Confident that he could prevent this, Lee took measures to intercept him and cut off his communications with the river.



GENERAL E. V. SUMNER

The corps of Generals Sumner and Franklin were left at Fair Oaks, with orders to protect the baggage and supply-trains on their way to the James. These arrangements being completed, General McClellan pursued his course with the main army, which was still in a position of grave peril, and, strange to say, the Confederates at Richmond were hardly less exposed to a reverse. After the battle of the 27th, the Federals were much closer to the capital of the Confederacy than the chief divisions of the enemy, who, it will be remembered, were on the farther side of the Chickahominy, the Unionists being on the side next to Richmond.

McClellan's Explanation

McClellan seems at one time to have had some thought of attacking the city, but he decided that the risks were too great. "It may be asked," he says, "why, after the concentration of our forces on the right bank of the Chickahominy, with a large part of the enemy drawn away from Richmond on the opposite side, I did not, instead of striking for James river, fifteen miles below that place, at once march directly on Richmond. It will be remembered that at this juncture the enemy was in our rear, and there was every reason to believe that he would sever our communications with our supply

depot at White House. We had on hand but a limited amount of rations, and if we had advanced directly on Richmond, it would have required considerable time to carry the strong works around that place, during which our men would have been destitute of food; and even if Richmond had fallen before our arms, the enemy could still have occupied our supply-communications between that place and our gunboats, and turned their disaster into victory. If, on the other hand, the enemy had concentrated all his forces at Richmond during the progress of our attack, and we had been defeated, we must in all probability have lost our trains before reaching the flotilla."

GENERAL W. B. FRANKLIN

As the corps of Sumner and Franklin were about to leave Fair Oaks on the 29th, they were attacked by the Confederates. The battle was desperate, but the Confederates were at last repulsed, after severe loss, and the Unionists continued their retreat toward the James. It will be borne in mind that these corps acted as a rear-guard, and held the passage of the White Oak Swamp, while the rest of the army pushed on with the siege trains and other impedimenta.

While engaged in performing this duty, they were attacked, June 30, by the left Confederate wing under General Jackson, but they held their ground and checked any further advance of the enemy.

A Furious Encounter

Toward the close of the same day, the Confederates attempted to advance by the Charles City road, so as to cut off the Federal retreat, and came in collision with General Heintzelman. They were led by Generals Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Huger, and the fight was of the most furious character.

Hill charged several times, and nothing could exceed the bravery

with which he was repulsed again and again. The contending masses were mixed together, fighting hand-to-hand, asking and giving no quarter, and struggling like tigers. Even when darkness closed over the fearful scene, the fighting continued with the same ferocity, until at last it ended from the sheer exhaustion of the combatants. The Confederates were checked, but not repulsed, while the Unionists held their ground, and no real advantage was gained by either.

McClellan had conducted the retreat himself, and therefore was not present at any of the actions in which the enemy sought to hinder the movements of his army. His dread was that the Confederates would occupy the roads in front, and thus prevent his withdrawal to the James. Finally, on the afternoon of June 30, the immense line of baggage wagons reached Malvern Hill near the river.

Arrival at Malvern Hill

There they were not only in a position of considerable strength, but were in communication with their transports and supplies. The roads were good, so that the wagons moved with facility, but it was inevitable that a good deal of confusion should prevail at the time, and had an attack been made by the Confederates a disaster might have followed.

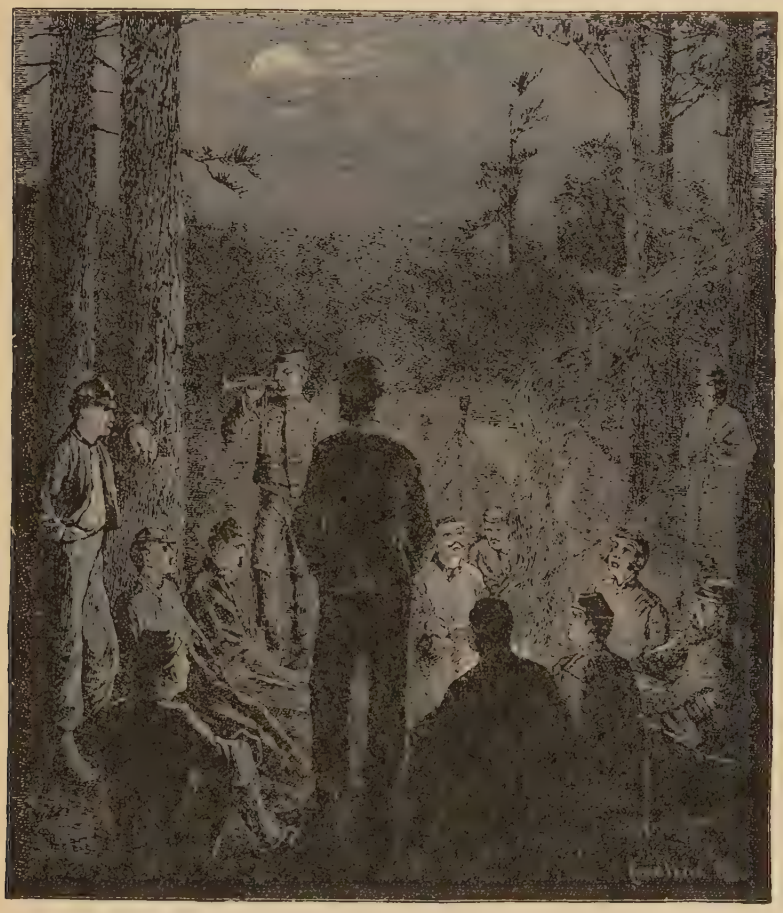
It was about four o'clock when the rear of the supply-trains and the reserve artillery reached Malvern Hill. Soon after, the enemy advanced against General Porter's left flank, but was driven back, the gunboats rendering effective service in the repulse.

McClellan describes Malvern Hill as an elevated plateau about a mile and a half by three-fourths of a mile in area, well cleared of timber, and with several converging roads running over it. In front are numerous defensible ravines, the ground sloping gradually towards the north and east to the woodland, affording clear ranges for artillery in those directions. Towards the northwest, the plateau falls off more abruptly into a ravine which extends to the James.

An Impregnable Position

The most likely point of attack was from the direction of Richmond and White Oak Swamp. Hence the lines were strengthened on that side, and the chief part of the artillery gathered there. By midday on the 1st of July, the Federals had partly recovered from their exhaustion. Their flanks were protected by the gunboats, and the roads from Richmond could be swept by the heavy artillery which was now in position.

Before the day closed, it became evident that the Confederates meant to attack this strong position. General Lee had used every exertion to prevent the escape of the Union army, but was foiled again and again. The last chance was now before him, and, desper-



AROUND THE CAMP-FIRE

ate as it unquestionably was, he was resolved that one more supreme effort should be made to destroy the invading forces.

Lee's Desperate Attack

About noon there was some skirmishing, but the general action did not open until about three o'clock. At that time, the Confederate artillery opened on Kearny's division of Heintzelman's corps, and on other parts of the army towards the right of the line. The infantry advanced at a charge, but were met with a fire that drove them

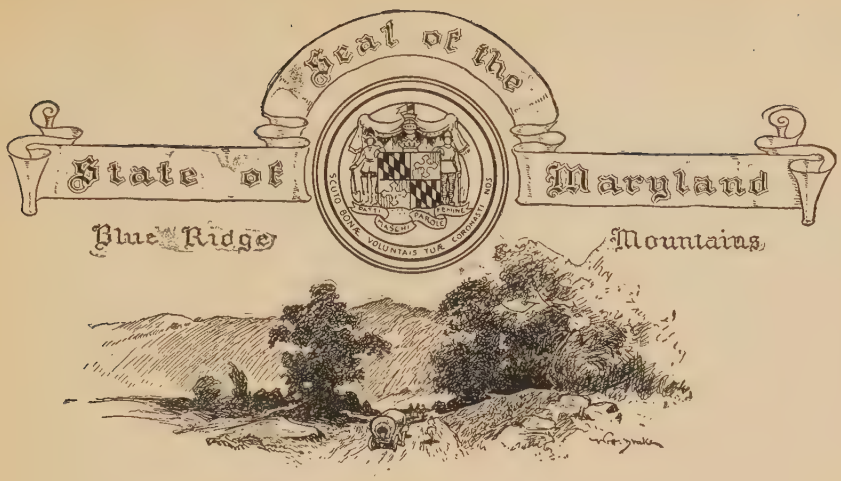
back. The attempt to carry the position was renewed several times, the enemy re-forming his shattered ranks in the shelter of the adjacent woods.

The Confederate troops engaged up to this time were from General Magruder's corps, which the night before had supported the divisions of Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Huger in their assault on General Heintzelman.

Toward evening, Magruder was reënforced by the regiments of Jackson, who arrived from White Oak Swamp too late to render any important service. Night therefore found the Unionists in possession of the ground, and the Confederates had been defeated, with a severe loss in killed and wounded.

General Lee Defeated

General Lee saw the hopelessness of further attempts against the Army of the Potomac, and he now withdrew to Richmond, while the Union army took up a position at Harrison's Landing, a site on the James river that had been selected by the engineers and naval officers as the best spot to resist attack and to receive supplies. By the night of July 3, the army was in a position of safety, and McClellan had gained a base of operations from which to make another advance upon the capital of the Confederacy.



CHAPTER IX

EVENTS OF 1862 (CONTINUED)

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN (CONCLUDED)

[*Author's Note:* It is touching to reflect upon the disastrous price that had to be paid by the North in its search for the proper man to command its armies. First, Scott—once able, but, at the time of the Rebellion, incompetent on account of age; then McClellan, undoubtedly great as an organizer, but lacking in *elan*, overcautious, and unwilling to venture where the element of uncertainty existed. Halleck undertakes to command the various movements of the armies from his office in Washington, and, totally misunderstanding the necessities of the situation, orders the imbecile defense of Harper's Ferry, described further on. The nation places its faith in each one in turn, and has its hope destroyed by failure and disaster. Not so with the South. From the first, she seemed to be fortunate in her military leaders. It is necessary only to mention the names of Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, Hill, Stuart, and many others. Special authorities, besides those already mentioned, are "Southern Generals," Pollard's "Lee and His Lieutenants," and Darney's "Life of T. J. Jackson."]

ON the 11th of July, President Lincoln appointed Major-General H. W. Halleck general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, the position held by McClellan before he left Washington for the Peninsula. A few days later, orders were sent to McClellan to withdraw the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula. The stores and the sick were embarked, August 16, and the troops crossed the Chickahominy on the 18th, to unite with the forces of General Pope, southeast of Washington, and to act under the command of that officer. A portion of his army was at Culpeper Court House,

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

seventy miles from Washington and about the same distance from Richmond, and the remainder was at Fredericksburg. It was Pope's duty to protect Washington, and to divert, so far as he could, the Confederate army menacing McClellan. The line extended from the Blue Ridge Mountains on the right, to the lower fords of the Rappahannock on the left. His army was not quite forty thousand. Pope's cavalry advanced toward Gordonsville on the 14th of July, General King at Falmouth being ordered at the same time to make a reconnaissance in force along the Richmond and Fredericksburg railway. Nothing of moment resulted from these movements.

GENERAL HENRY W. HALLECK

Early in August, the Union pickets reported that the enemy was advancing in the direction of Madison Court House, and also from Gordonsville to Culpeper. There was no fighting until the next day, when a furious action took place near Cedar Mountain. It opened about five o'clock and lasted until late at night, by which time the Unionists had been driven back a mile.

A Union Panic

The bright moonlight revealed to the Confederate artillerymen their foes bivouacked within range of their guns. They opened fire, and a panic spread through a portion of the Union army. Just then a lot of the Confederate cavalry charged, and Pope himself and the officers of his staff narrowly escaped capture. The loss was severe on both sides, especially on that of the Federals, but the latter were reënforced, and Stonewall Jackson retreated during the night of the 11th, and, re-crossing the Rapidan, got safely away. This exploit of Jackson so alarmed our government that it ordered Burnside's divisions to be detached from McClellan's command and sent to Acquia Creek, McClellan at the same time retreating to Fortress Monroe and Yorktown.

General Pope, after his defeat at Cedar Mountain, was obliged to determine the best manner of conducting the campaign, since it was

clear that the Confederates meant to assume the offensive once more, and the safety of Washington was again threatened. He decided to occupy the line of the Rapidan, from Robertson's river on the right, across Cedar Mountain as the center, to Raccoon Ford on the left. He was convinced that in this direction the Confederates were most likely to advance, and consequently it was there that the first need existed for protecting the capital. He was able at the same time, while holding that line, to keep open his communications with Fredericksburg, beyond his extreme left, so as to receive reënforcements from McClellan as his army arrived at Acquia Creek from the Potomac.

Retreat of General Pope

These plans, however, were overturned by news that General Lee was hurriedly transferring his army to Gordonsville, a short distance to the south of his own line. Believing his opponent to be in much greater force than was the case, Pope retreated to the farther side of the Rappahannock, north of his abandoned positions.

This movement took place on the night of the 18th of August, and the new line extended from Sulphur Springs, on the right, to Marsh river on the left. Pope still kept open his communications with Fredericksburg, and on the 21st was joined by Reynolds' and Kearny's divisions from McClellan's army.

General Lee vigorously followed Pope. He had a great advantage in the strong friendship of the people through whose country the two armies were marching. Pope's ill-advised orders had incensed the population, who naturally kept back all information from him and his troops, while they gladly gave it to the Confederates. The latter showed great boldness. They were under the leadership of the best officers of the Confederacy, and were flushed with their recent successes, while their resentment towards Pope made all eager to attack him.

Daring of General Stuart

On the 22d of August, General Stuart, who it will be remembered had ridden around McClellan's army, did the same with that of Pope. He seized a large amount of the headquarters' baggage, including the letters and plans of the chief commander. Among the plunder captured was a gorgeous uniform of General Pope, which some days later was seen displayed on the person of a colored servant.

It was now decided to execute a flank movement round the right wing of Pope's army. Stonewall Jackson's corps was concentrated at Jefferson, opposite the Sulphur Springs, and on the 25th of

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August they set out for Thoroughfare Gap. The men were poorly clad, and had so little food that they were obliged to live on grain plucked in the fields, and on the offerings of the people; but they had faith in their leaders and in themselves, and they hurried through the mountain pass leading to the rear of the Federals.

It will be borne in mind that McClellan had been continually sending detachments of his army to the relief of Pope, who now had a large and well-appointed force under his command. They lacked a vital requirement, however—confidence in their leader.

Jackson met with success in this daring enterprise. Thoroughfare Gap was found so entirely free of Union soldiers that his men encountered no opposition in hurrying through it, whereas a small force would have been sufficient to stop the Confederates.

Exploits of Jackson

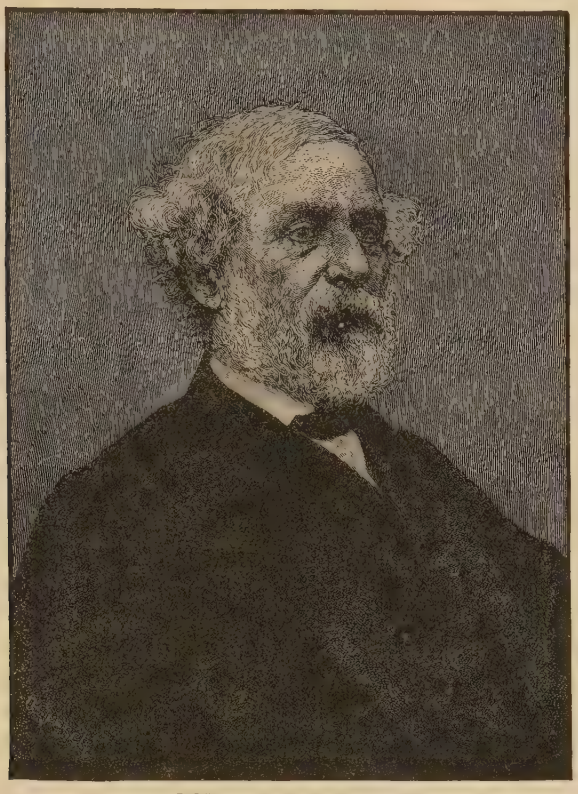
On the evening of the 26th, Jackson struck the railway in Pope's rear at Bristoe Station. The immense depot at Manassas Junction was captured and set on fire the next day, and the movements of Jackson were so audacious that Pope became bewildered. He sent orders hither and thither, and everything was topsy-turvy and in a disgraceful condition.

Knowing the bewilderment of the Federals, the Confederates continued to advance, and pushed still farther in the rear of General Pope. Some pressed on to the old battle-field of Bull Run, while others made their way to Centerville. Thus it came about that the corps of Jackson was actually between the Union army and Washington. Enormous amounts of stores were destroyed, telegraph wires cut, rails torn up, and finally all communication between the government in Washington and Pope's army was cut off. The telegraph operator, sitting in the office at the capital with the highest government officials, and receiving the messages with which the wires were continually throbbing, found them suddenly stopped, and turning about, quietly made known the astounding fact that Stonewall Jackson was a good deal nearer Washington than were General Pope and his army.

Consternation in the North

This was alarming news indeed, and it need not be said that it spread consternation through not only the capital, but the North. That specter which had hovered over the national capital so long seemed now almost in sight. The straining ear expected every hour to hear the boom of the Confederate cannon, and catch sight of the gray-coated army on the other side of the Potomac.

Still, the Federals were not idle. Hooker's division collided with Jackson's rear-guard at Bristoe Station, on the evening of the 27th, and Pope marched along the Orange and Alexandria railway, while McDowell, at the head of another strong force, advanced from War-



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

renton, with the object of interposing between Jackson and his line of retreat by Thoroughfare Gap.

Jackson's Perilous Situation

It seemed as if the fiery Confederate was shut in and doomed to be captured. His situation was perilous to the last degree, but General Lee knew it, and was hurrying with his main army to his relief. His forces, however, were still in the defiles of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and it looked as if they could not arrive in time to save Jackson.

The greatest ally that Jackson had was the confusion and lack of unity among his opponents. Had they been one compact army,

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under a capable leader, it is not too much to say that the career of General Lee's most famous lieutenant must have ended then and there, and the cause of the Union would have received an impetus beyond value.

Jackson now turned and rushed south to meet the Unionists who were pursuing him. On the 28th, Kearny attacked the rear of Jackson's corps, and, occupying Centerville, reopened the communication with Alexandria, which had been cut off for a short time. Near the close of the same day, a portion of Sigel's corps had an engagement with the Confederates, the latter gaining possession of a ridge of hills near Sudley Springs, on the northeastern bank of Bull Run. By the morning of the 29th, most of Jackson's corps had reached the other side of the stream, and he took up a position similar to that of McDowell, when, a little more than a year before, he advanced against the enemy at the first battle of Bull Run.

Jackson's Position

The left of the Confederate line was stationed near Centerville, on the ridge of hills seized the night before; the right and center were on the opposite bank of the little river, and extended along the Manassas Gap railway, toward the main road from Warrenton. Consequently, the several divisions faced toward the southeast, and from that direction were attacked during the day by the Unionists, who had united their forces on the old battle-ground of a year before.

General Pope arrived on the scene of action about noon, when the battle had been under way for several hours; but he doubted the prudence of ordering an advance along the whole line, since his troops had suffered severely from the fire of the enemy, and he was expecting the arrival of McDowell and Porter, when he hoped to crush the Confederates; but as the flaming summer day drew to a close, the sorely pressed Jackson caught sight of the leading division of Longstreet's corps, which, defeating all opposition in Thoroughfare Gap, forced its way through to his relief.

Pope's Confidence

Previous to this, the Confederates had been compelled to give ground. Pope telegraphed another confident dispatch to Washington, announcing a great victory. He had been reënforced during the afternoon by General McDowell, but Fitz-John Porter did not arrive on the 29th. It was because of this failure that Porter was afterward tried for disobedience of orders and dismissed from the service, to be restored again by President Cleveland, nearly a quarter of a century later.

AN ALEXANDRIA ANTE-BELLUM RELIC

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When darkness at last put an end to the fighting, no decisive result had been reached; but the advantage, if any, rested with the Unionists, though the manner in which they had been handled discouraged them, while the leaders on the other side filled the men with confidence and an eagerness to renew the battle on the morrow.

By daylight the next morning the remaining divisions of Longstreet's corps, which had been coming all night, had joined the corps under Jackson, so that the Confederate army was very strong. Longstreet took the right of the line, which was five miles long. By this time Porter's corps was in position, and opened the battle by attacking a portion of Longstreet's forces.

The Second Battle of Bull Run

A general engagement was soon in progress, and raged with great fury for a number of hours, during which the loss was severe on both sides. Toward evening General Lee, who was commanding in person, ordered an advance. The Unionists were already wavering under the destructive fire of some well-posted artillery, and they now recoiled in confusion. Rushing across Bull Run, they sought shelter behind the field-works at Centerville, where they were supported by the corps of Sumner and Franklin, which had arrived from Alexandria and the front of Washington.

General Banks, who had stayed at Bristoe Station to guard the railway, destroyed large quantities of stores, and then hastened to join his comrades. When at last all of Pope's army were gathered behind the intrenchments at Centerville, they felt safe.

Lee naturally hestitated to attack the Unionists, now that they had secured a strong position, but the temptation was strong. On the 1st of September a demonstration was made against the right flank, and Pope, finding the Confederates on the road to Fairfax Court House and actually threatening Washington again, concluded that it was time to resume his retreat.

A Disastrous Union Defeat

The flight was a turbulent one, the army almost as demoralized as after the first battle of Bull Run. A furious rain-storm set in, and the rear was continually harassed by the attacks of the enemy.

On the morning of September 2, the whole of the Union army, including the divisions at Fredericksburg and Acquia Creek, entered the fortifications immediately protecting Washington. The campaign had been one of the worst failures in the history of the war for the Union, involving the loss not only of a large number of soldiers, but two of the best officers in the service, Generals Kearny and Stevens.

CHAPTER X

EVENTS OF 1862 (CONCLUDED)

THE FIRST CONFEDERATE INVASION

[*Author's Note:* The dream of the South all through the war was to transfer the struggle to Northern soil, and each attempt to do so was attended by disaster. The discovery of General Orders Number 191 made it possible for McClellan to win the Battle of Antietam. The temptation to Lee to capture Baltimore and Philadelphia, and thus to cut off Washington from communication with the North, must have been well-nigh irresistible. Yet it is clear that such an attempt was bad from the standpoint of military strategy. The coldness of their reception in the slave state, Maryland, should have convinced Lee of his error. The straggling of his men, too, should have revealed to him the fatal lack of cohesion among them. Antietam, and not Gettysburg, was the "beginning of the end." The Shenandoah Valley was the road to disaster for the Confederates, although each time they advanced created panic at Washington and throughout the North. McClellan at Antietam did much to relieve himself of the stigma incurred by his dilatory tactics. The promptness with which he took advantage of the discovery of General Orders Number 191 gave a turn to affairs much in favor of the North. Authorities are the same as for the preceding chapters.]

Confederate Dead

THE loss of the Confederates in the second Bull Run campaign was 1,341 killed and 7,069 wounded, while the Union loss reached the appalling total of 12,000. Our army had 20,000 stragglers, and was in a woeful condition. By his own request, Pope was relieved of command, and the Army of Virginia united with the Army of the Potomac, by which the forces operating directly against Richmond were known throughout the remainder of the war. General McClellan was restored to command, a highly popular act with the soldiers, who were still strongly attached to their old commander.

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McClellan set to work with promptness and vigor. Collecting his staff, he started them in every direction with the necessary instructions to the different fortifications, while he was in the saddle continually. Gradually order was brought out of chaos, and the grand army of as brave and true patriots as ever lived assumed symmetry and form, and became once more the most terrible of all engines in the hands of a competent leader.

A Grave Danger

When General Lee marched from Richmond to push his campaign in upper Virginia, he had no intention of invading the Northern states. One proof of this was that no one in his situation could have looked for such extraordinary incompetency in the leadership of the Federal armies. The general belief, after the disastrous defeat of Pope and his Army of Virginia, was that Lee would march unopposed into Washington. Such was the expectation of President Lincoln, General Halleck, and others; and there were hours when thousands in the North expected that the next news over the wires would be the fall of the capital. But the precautions taken by McClellan would have insured its safety against an army twice as numerous as that of the Confederates.

What, then, did General Lee intend to do? That was the universal question, whose answer, it will be admitted, was of an importance beyond estimate.

There is a limit to human endurance, and the victories won by the Confederates had exhausted them to the last degree. They were hungry, ragged, barefooted, and worn-out; they must have rest. But, while gaining that, their eyes turned longingly towards the fair fields of Maryland, spread out before them, and the temptation to gather from their abundance was almost too great to resist.

The Cause of the Confederate Invasion

It can be understood that there were many reasons why General Lee desired to carry the war into the North. It was natural that he and the other Confederate authorities should wish to press the bitter cup, of which they had tasted so often, to Northern lips. While it was a tremendous risk to move the army so far from its base, there was a fair prospect of being able to capture Baltimore or Philadelphia, and thus cut off Washington. This done, who could doubt that England and France would intervene in favor of the Confederacy? It was decided, therefore, to invade the North. Instead of attacking Washington or Baltimore, Lee began maneuvering so as to lead McClellan to uncover those cities. The first step of the

Confederate leader was to enter western Maryland and establish his communications with Richmond through the Shenandoah Valley. Threatening Pennsylvania by the Cumberland Valley, he hoped to draw the Union army far enough from the national capital to make it possible to seize Washington or Baltimore, and to force McClellan to give battle at a long distance from his own base of supplies.

GENERAL D. H. HILL

General D. H. Hill's command, which arrived on the 2d, was in advance, and marched to the Potomac at a point nearly opposite the Monocacy. The Unionists guarding the river were driven off, and Hill crossed into Maryland. The locks and embankments of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, one of the chief avenues through which Washington received its fuel, were destroyed, a day and a night being occupied in their destruction.

Meanwhile Stonewall Jackson, after giving his men a day's rest, had marched to Ox Hill on the 3d. Two days later he crossed the Potomac at White's Ford, near Leesburg. The bands struck up the popular air, "Maryland, My Maryland," the soldiers joining in the thunderous chorus with an enthusiasm which showed that they felt they were among friends, even if on the soil of a state that had never seceded from the Union.

General Hill resumed his march on the 6th, reaching Frederick

City a few hours later. On the 8th the whole army was drawn up on the left bank of the Potomac. Lee established his headquarters at Frederick, preserving good order and discipline, as much to the delight as to the surprise of the inhabitants.

On the 8th he issued an address to the people, assuring them that they would be protected from all violence and ill treatment, and inviting them to cast their lot with the Confederacy.

Never was a greater mistake than that of the Confederates when they confidently counted upon a welcome to the soil of Maryland. It was reasonable that they should believe that a slave state, whose sympathies were naturally with the South and in the streets of whose chief city the Northern troops had been stoned, would be eager to rally around the "stars and bars." Maryland, indeed, had sent many soldiers into the armies of the Confederacy, but she now showed a coldness hardly short of aversion to their intrusion upon her soil.

A Cold Reception

No enthusiasm appeared and no volunteers flocked to the standard of the South. It was a great disappointment, but, of course, it could not interfere with the plans of the Confederate leader.

During the battle of Manassas, the northern part of the Shenandoah Valley was occupied by twelve thousand Union troops, a third of whom under General White were at Winchester, and the rest at Harper's Ferry under Colonel Miles. As soon as White learned of Lee's advance upon the Potomac, he retreated to Winchester and occupied Martinsburg, while Miles was cut off from Washington by Stonewall Jackson, who had crossed the river near Leesburg. It would have been an easy matter for the garrison to pass into Maryland and join the troops organized to resist the Confederate advance. When the latter passed the Potomac, Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg lost all value to them, for the railway through those places took a different course from the one they were following. The Unionists, therefore, who stayed on the Virginia side simply invited the enemy to capture them.

At Harper's Ferry

This plain truth suggests the question why it was that the Federals attempted to hold Harper's Ferry. The folly belonged to General Halleck alone, who, sitting in his office at Washington, sent peremptory orders that the post should be defended to the last. Lee, at Frederick, learning that the Union garrison was still there, decided to capture it. He, therefore, suspended his advance northward for a few days.

On the 10th of September the Confederate army marched toward the upper Potomac, entering the mountainous section of Maryland. Jackson, with his three divisions, in addition to three other divisions, was detached and directed to capture Harper's Ferry. He was to march by way of Sharpsburg, crossing the Potomac above Harper's Ferry and approach by the rear. McLaws, with two divisions, was to go by way of Middletown on the direct road to the ferry, and

HARPER'S FERRY

occupy Maryland Heights, while Walker with his division was to cross below the post and seize Loudon Heights. It was intended that the surrender should be forced on the 13th, when the captors would rejoin Lee on his northward march.

The Union Pursuit

McClellan all this time was cautiously following Lee, and watching his movements. General Banks remained in charge of the defenses of Washington. The advance of the Union army began on the 4th of September, McClellan himself taking the field on the 7th.

It was known that the main body of the Confederates had crossed into Maryland, but the precise intentions of Lee could not be known. McClellan, in consequence, was obliged to proceed with the utmost circumspection for several days, so as to cover both Baltimore and

McClellan's Advance

Washington, and at the same time be ready to follow the enemy into Pennsylvania.

McClellan's general course was northwesterly, his points of destination being Frederick and its neighborhood. His army advanced in five columns, extending across the region between the Baltimore and Ohio railway and the Potomac. His left rested on the river, and the right reached as far as Cooksville. September 14, Burnside and Sumner, each with two corps, were at South Mountain; Franklin's corps and Couch's division at Burkettsville; and Sykes' division at Middletown.

Let us see what took place at Harper's Ferry.

Singular results flow from the most unexpected causes. General Halleck did a foolish thing in persisting in his defense of Harper's Ferry, and General Lee followed only the dictates of ordinary generalship in capturing it; yet events so shaped themselves that the result was disastrous to the Confederate cause.

Stonewall Jackson entered Martinsburg on the morning of September 12, securing a large amount of abandoned stores. Pushing on, he struck the Federal outer line on Bolivar Heights, in the rear of Harper's Ferry, the next morning. General Hill, still in advance, bivouacked near Halltown, two miles from Bolivar Heights. General Jackson now set out to learn whether McLaws and Walker had arrived. His signals were promptly answered from the mountains opposite, whereupon he sent couriers to Maryland and Loudon Heights to find whether the two divisions were ready to take part in the assault.

The couriers brought back word that Walker was in position, and that McLaws was rapidly pushing his way up Maryland Heights. The hour he arrived Harper's Ferry would be at the mercy of the Confederates, who could pour a tempest of shot and shell into the valley that would annihilate the garrison.

Imbecility or Treachery

The defense of Harper's Ferry, if it may be dignified by such a name, was so imbecile as to raise the charge of treachery and lead to an official investigation. Colonel Miles posted a strong force on Maryland Heights, the loftiest of the three mountain peaks in that region; but most of his command was in the basin below. Had he kept all of them on the heights, they could have held the post without difficulty until the arrival of Franklin, who was hurrying to his assistance. Even then, their straining ears almost heard the boom

of the signal-guns that Franklin kept firing for the encouragement of the beleaguered commander, who had sent word that he could hold out for several days.

As soon as Colonel Ford, away up on Maryland Heights, discovered that Stonewall Jackson was actually coming toward him, he made but a slight show of resistance, spiked his guns, pitched them over the rocks, and rushed pellmell down to Harper's Ferry, thus adding to the thousands of victims already awaiting their doom. All three of the mountain peaks were swarming with Confederates, whose cheers rang back and forth over the heads of the garrison in the death-trap below. The investment was complete, and at daylight on the morning of September 15, a plunging fire was opened upon the garrison. At the end of an hour, Colonel Miles called his officers together and told them it was useless to resist any longer. Unquestionably they were at the mercy of the enemy, and the only thing to do was to surrender. No one could doubt this fact, and the white flag was run up. The token was not at once recognized through the smoke, and several shots were fired after the surrender. The last struck and mortally wounded Colonel Miles. It was well, perhaps, that he met death in this manner. Harper's Ferry was captured, and Colonel White surrendered nearly twelve thousand men, seventy-three pieces of artillery, thirteen thousand small arms, and a large amount of military stores.

THE OLD JOHN BROWN FORT AT HARPER'S FERRY

The Capture of Harper's Ferry

Meanwhile the Union army reached Frederick September 12, and was joyfully received. It was learned that Lee's army had marched away from the city during the two previous days, taking the roads to Boonsboro and Harper's Ferry. This rendered it necessary to force the passes through the Catoctin and South Mountain ranges,

and secure possession of Boonsboro and Rohrersville before aid could be sent to Colonel Miles.

An extraordinary piece of good fortune now befell the Union army. On the morning of the 13th, a Union officer picked up a piece of paper in the house that General D. H. Hill had used as his headquarters while in Frederick. He noticed the heading, "Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia, Special Orders, No. 191," and with wondering curiosity read the following important paper, which had been dropped by General Hill, and was left lying on the floor unnoticed until found by the Union officer:

"'Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia,
"September 9, 1862.

"Special Orders, No. 191.

"Special Orders No. 191"

"The army will resume its march tomorrow, taking the Hagerstown road. General Jackson's command will form the advance, and after passing Middletown, with such portion as he may select, will take the route to Sharpsburg, cross the Potomac at the most convenient point, and by Friday night take possession of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, capture such of the enemy as may be at Martinsburg, and intercept such as may attempt to escape from Harper's Ferry.

"General Longstreet's command will pursue the same road as far as Boonsboro, where it will halt with the reserve, supply, and baggage trains of the army.

"General McLaws, with his own division and that of General R. H. Anderson, will follow General Longstreet. On reaching Middletown, he will take the route to Harper's Ferry, and by Friday morning possess himself of the Maryland Heights and endeavor to capture the enemy at Harper's Ferry and vicinity.

"General Walker, with his division, after accomplishing the object in which he is now engaged, will cross the Potomac at Cheek's Ford and ascend its right bank to Lovettsville, take possession of Loudon Heights if practicable by Friday morning, Key's Ford on his left, and the road between the end of the mountain and the Potomac on his right. He will, as far as practicable, co-operate with General McLaws and General Jackson in intercepting the retreat of the enemy.

"General D. H. Hill's division will form the rear-guard of the army, pursuing the road taken by the main body. The reserve, artillery, ordnance, and supply trains, etc., will precede General Hill.

"General Stuart will detach a squadron of cavalry to accompany the commands of Generals Longstreet, Jackson, and McLaws, and with the main body of the cavalry will cover the route of the army and bring up all stragglers that may have been left behind.

"The commands of Generals Jackson, McLaws, and Walker, after accomplishing the objects for which they were detached, will join the main body of the army at Boonsboro or Hagerstown."

A Fortunate Find

Was such carelessness ever known? There was the whole detailed plan of Lee's campaign, the very information for which McClellan would have given a fortune. It need not be said that he acted promptly upon the intelligence thus providentially placed in his hands.

General Pleasonton was ordered to send Reynolds' brigade and a section of artillery towards Gettysburg, and Rush's regiment in the

direction of Jefferson to communicate with Franklin, who had previously received the Sixth United States cavalry and a section of artillery, and to hasten with the rest of his force towards Middletown in pursuit of the enemy.

The morning was spent in skirmishing with the Confederates, who were driven from several strong positions. In the afternoon, Turner's Gap of the South Mountain was reached, where the enemy was found in force and prepared to make a stand.

At this point the South Mountain is about a fifth of a mile high, and is crossed at nearly right angles by the national road from Frederick to Hagerstown, through Turner's Gap, some four hundred feet in depth.

The Approach to Sharpsburg

General Pleasonton continued his reconnaissance on the 14th; Gibson's battery, and, later, Benjamin's battery, were placed so as to secure a direct fire on the enemy's position in the Gap. General Cox's division left camp at Middletown early in the morning of the 14th, the first brigade reaching the scene of action about three hours later. They were sent up the old Sharpsburg road by General Pleasonton, to learn whether the enemy held the crest on that side. The Confederates were found to be there in large force.

General Cox having arrived with the other brigade, and word having been received from General Reno that the column would be supported by the whole corps, the division was directed to assault the position. Two twenty-pounder Parrotts and two sections of a battery were left in the rear near the turnpike, where they did effective work during the day. Scammon's brigade, protected by skirmishers, moved up the slope to the left of the road, with a view of turning the enemy's right. The latter, from behind stone walls and the edges of timber, poured in a hot fire, while a battery sent in canister and case-shot; but the brigade pushed on and gained the crest. Colonel Crooke's brigade advanced in columns at supporting distance, and a section of McCullan's battery was moved up and opened with canister at short range. After doing considerable execution, it was silenced and compelled to withdraw. A regiment of Crooke's brigade was next deployed on Scammon's left, and the other two in his rear. More than once they relieved the hard-pressed regiments in front. Several times the enemy made desperate efforts to retake the crest, but were repulsed. Convinced that it could not be recaptured in this fashion, they moved their battery farther to the right and formed columns on both the Federal flanks.

Opening of the Battle

It was now midday, and a lull in the battle lasted a couple of hours, during which the rest of the corps was coming up, Wilcox's division being the first to reach the ground. General Pleasonton directed him to take the position on the right, afterwards occupied by Hooker. While in the act of doing so, General Reno ordered him to move up the old Sharpsburg road and post himself to the right, overlooking the turnpike.

By request of General Cox, two regiments were detached to his support. A section of Cooke's battery was placed in position near the bend of the road on the crest, and opened on the enemy's batteries across the gap. Just as the division was about to deploy to the right of the road, the Confederates opened with a battery which enfiladed the road at that point, sent Cooke's cannoneers flying, and created a short panic, during which the guns narrowly escaped capture. The 79th New York and 17th Michigan quickly rallied, changed front under a heavy fire, and advanced to protect the guns, which Captain Cooke had not left. Matters were soon steadied, and the division formed in line on the right of Cox, keeping themselves hidden as much as they could under the hillside until the whole line advanced. During that time, the division was exposed not only to the fire of the battery in front, but to the batteries on the other side of the pike. The loss was severe.

A Battery Duel

Some time before this, Generals Burnside and Reno reached the base of the mountain. The former ordered the latter to advance the divisions of Sturgis and Rodman to the crest held by Cox and Wilcox, and to assail the enemy's position with his entire force as soon as he was apprised that Hooker, who was about to attack on the right, was well up the mountain. General Reno now went to the front and took the direction of affairs, having learned all about the positions from General Pleasonton. A little before this, McClellan arrived at the point occupied by Burnside, and his headquarters were there until the end of the battle. General Sturgis reached the scene of action between three and four in the afternoon. McClellan's order for the whole line to move forward and capture or silence the Confederate batteries was obeyed with great ardor. The enemy made a determined resistance, charging the approaching columns with a dash that it seemed would sweep everything before it. But the advance of the Unionists was resistless, and the enemy was routed at every point.

A Confederate Rout

The chief loss fell upon Wilcox's division. The Confederate battery was discovered to be on the other side of a gorge, beyond reach of the infantry. The Federals, however, made things so warm that they compelled its removal, though the battery across the gap kept up a fire of shot and shell.

Cooke's battery reopened fire. Sturgis' division was moved to the front of Wilcox, occupying the new ground captured on the farther side of the slope, and his artillery opened on the batteries on the other side of the gap. The Confederates made an effort to turn the Federal left, but were driven back by Fairchild's brigade and Clark's battery. At this time night was beginning to close in upon the scene.

Just as it became dark, the Confederates made another attempt to regain their lost ground. The struggle lasted a couple of hours, several charges of the enemy having been made and repulsed, and finally, when the battle ceased, the Union forces held the highest part of the mountain. General Reno, an old classmate of McClellan at West Point, was killed just before dusk, while making a reconnaissance. Of him McClellan said: "He was a skillful soldier, a brave and honest man." All firing was over by ten o'clock, the troops sleeping on their arms and ready to resume the battle at daylight. The Confederates, however, had had more than enough, and, during the darkness, they quietly folded their tents and stole away, abandoning their wounded and leaving large numbers of dead on the field.

Retreat of the Confederates

While these events were passing on the left of the main column, General Hooker was actively engaged on the right. His corps had left the Monocacy early in the morning, the advance reaching Catoctin a little past midday. About the same time, Meade's division was ordered to make a diversion in favor of Reno. It left Catoctin creek about two o'clock, and turned off to the right from the main road to Mount Tabor church, where General Hooker was, and deployed a little way in advance, its right resting a mile and a half from the turnpike. Several shots were fired from a Confederate battery on the mountain side, but they did no particular damage.

The Unionists were probably a little more numerous than the Confederates, but that advantage was more than offset by Lee's superiority of position on the crest and sides of the mountain, where there was an abundance of woods, rocks, ledges, and all kinds of de-

Lee's Superior Position

fense, that could be turned to the best account by the defenders. From the circumstances of the case, the chief maneuvering fell to the lot of the assailants, and the ground could not have been more unfavorable. Nevertheless, the Union victory was complete. The Union army lost 312 killed, 1,234 wounded, and 22 missing.

At the same time that the battle of South Mountain was going on, a fight took place at Crampton's Pass, between a division under General Franklin and the enemy, who was found in the rear of Burkettsville, at the base of the mountain, with large numbers of infantry posted on both sides of the road and artillery with which to defend the approaches to the pass. With the same cool daring as at South Mountain, the Unionists pressed the foe, and after three hours' severe fighting drove him from the crest and sent him flying down the other side of the mountain.

It will be borne in mind that the battle of South Mountain and the engagement at Crampton's Pass took place at the very time that the investment of Harper's Ferry was going on. The surrender of the latter followed only a few hours after McClellan's victory.

Report Regarding Harper's Ferry

It has been stated that the loss of Harper's Ferry led to a court of inquiry to investigate the case. The court met in Washington on the 25th of September, and their report appeared a few weeks later. It is said that the incapacity of Colonel Miles, amounting almost to imbecility, led to the shameful surrender of this important post. The report also condemned the military incapacity of Colonel Ford (who it will be remembered threw his cannon from Maryland Heights and scrambled down with his men to join Colonel Miles) in such unmistakable terms that he was dismissed from the service of the United States.

Let us cross to the Confederate side and see what was going on. When General McLaws, who was engaged in the capture of Harper's Ferry, learned that the Unionists had taken Crampton's Pass, he saw that he was in a perilous position. If he fell back along the river shore at the base of Maryland Heights he would be exposed to the fire of the garrison of Harper's Ferry, and Franklin, who was already close at hand, would assail his rear. At the same time there was no other line of retreat open to him, so that the only thing to do was to stay and fight it out, no matter how long it took.

The Confederate Position

McLaws therefore left but a single regiment to hold Maryland Heights, while the rest of his force took position in Pleasant Valley,

hardly two miles from Crampton's Pass, from which Franklin's soldiers were advancing into the valley. The audacity of McLaws deceived Franklin, and, since night was at hand, nothing was done that evening.

The Confederate leader believed he would be attacked early the next morning, but Franklin, still supposing the enemy to be much stronger than he, began maneuvering for a position from which his artillery could command the Confederate line. McLaws was grimly awaiting the onslaught, when a courier dashed into his lines with the news that Harper's Ferry had surrendered, and he was not to lose an hour in withdrawing to the south side of the Potomac and hastening to Lee.

McLaws did his duty well. He crossed over to Harper's Ferry early in the afternoon of the surrender, and the next morning went into camp at Halltown, where he gave his men a much-needed rest. The march was resumed the next day, and shortly after daylight on the 17th he joined Lee at Sharpsburg.

As soon as the Confederates withdrew on the morning of the 15th, McClellan pressed forward in pursuit. He had not advanced far, however, when the heads of his columns were checked at Antietam creek, a small tributary flowing into the Potomac six miles above Harper's Ferry. On the hills west of this little stream, General Lee had halted his army and prepared for battle. He had retreated as far as he intended to go, and was now at bay.

General Lee at Bay

Although General Lee had made a successful march on his way north, it must not be forgotten that many things had gone wrong with him. The capture of Harper's Ferry was easy, but it necessarily occupied several days of incalculable value. The worst, however, was the discovery by McClellan of "Special Orders No. 191," by which Lee's whole plan of campaign was revealed to his enemy.

Furthermore, the Confederate army seemed to be going to pieces from straggling. The sick, the lame, and the weary continued to drop out of the ranks, until Lee bitterly declared that his army must soon pass out of existence. He was compelled to turn at bay, and give battle, to allow his stragglers time to join him. The Confederate force that had faced about on the west bank of Antietam creek numbered, at the opening of the battle, barely forty thousand men.

Lee's Depleted Forces

It need not be said that Lee chose a strong position. The Poto-

mac was at his back, and its remarkable sinuosities were of a character to afford admirable protection to his flanks. In the middle of the little peninsula was the small town of Sharpsburg. Four roads issue from this place—the upper one running almost due north toward Hagerstown, the second southwest toward Shepherdstown, the third southeast to Rohrersville, crossing Antietam creek near Sharpsburg, and the fourth to the northeast through Keedysville on the Antietam, to Boonsboro. Thus from Sharpsburg as a hub extend four roads like spokes nearly at right angles.

The Battle-Ground

The ground occupied by the Confederates was a rough, wooded plateau, sloping to the banks of the Antietam, which was there a deep stream with only a few fords, and crossed by three stone bridges. The enemy's artillery was posted on every available point, while their reserves, being hidden from sight, could move back and forth without being seen, and could quickly reënforce any part of the battle-line.

It was by the road leading northeast from Sharpsburg that the advance of the Army of the Potomac came in sight of the Confederate forces on the evening of September 15. General Lee had posted his men so as to guard two of the stone bridges across the creek, the other being so far off that it was considered of no importance. There were a number of accessible fords, however, and instead of coming close to the stream to defend these, Lee formed his battle-line in the direction of the Potomac, so as to close the peninsula and rest the end of his line on that river.

Lee's Battle-Line

On the morning of the 16th it was found that he had changed the position of his batteries. Indeed, his army had been arriving all night, and one reason why he halted was to prevent McClellan from gathering them up in detail. All the forenoon of the 16th was spent in reconnoitering, examining the ground, locating fords, bringing up the ammunition and the supply-trains that had fallen to the rear.

Impressive was the fact that the center of the Confederate line was marked by a church, within whose humble walls had been proclaimed for so many years the doctrine of peace on earth and good will toward men. The famous "Dunker Church" is just west of the Hagerstown turnpike, and about equally distant from Sharpsburg, the Potomac, and Antietam creek.

Dunker Church

Early in the morning the Confederates opened a fire of artillery

on our guns in position. It was immediately answered, and the enemy's fire silenced, but it was renewed from time to time through the day.

By daylight, all of McClellan's army had arrived, excepting the two divisions of the Sixth corps and those of Morell and Couch. The plan of the Union commander was to attack Lee's left with the corps of Hooker and Mansfield, supported by Sumner's and Franklin's, should they be required. If the assault proved successful at

LOOKING UP THE ANTIETAM FROM BURNSIDE'S BRIDGE

this point, Burnside's corps would be hurled against the enemy's extreme right, carrying which, he was to push along the crest toward our right. Whenever either of these flank movements should succeed, the Union center would charge with all the forces at hand.

McClellan's Plans

McClellan was in readiness by two o'clock in the afternoon to begin the great battle of Antietam—or Sharpsburg, as it is called in the South. His corps had deployed along the hills on the east of Antietam creek and opened with artillery on the enemy. Burnside, with the Ninth corps, was stationed among the hills south of the Rohrersville road, in front of the Confederate right, from which he was separated by the stone bridge spanning the creek.

The first line of Sykes' division was on the left, and Richardson on the right of the Keedysville road, where it ran over the

hills. These were the positions they had taken the day before. The other two divisions of Sumner's corps were posted in the rear of Richardson. Hooker was at the right, on the heights from which the road slopes towards Antietam creek. Immediately behind him was Mansfield's corps, and Pleasonton and his cavalry occupied the fords and the upper bridge of the creek. The total was something more than sixty thousand men, many of whom, however, were new recruits who had never been under fire before, while the Confederates were veterans, every one of them.

GENERAL JOSEPH HOOKER

The Confederate army was less in numbers than its opponent, but, as we have just said, all the soldiers had received their baptism of fire, and they were veterans. They had the benefit of an unusually strong position, and were under the leadership of the best of officers.

On the Confederate right was Longstreet, D. H. Hill in the center, the two holding the hills that overlook the Keedysville and Rohrersville roads, the chief part of the artillery being concentrated in front so as to cover the passes of the creek. On the extreme left the impetuous Hood was posted with his two brigades, while Stonewall Jackson with his weakened divisions did his best to cover the broad opening between Hood's right and Hill's left. He formed the attenuated link, so to speak, that was meant to bind the forces of Hood and Hill together.

A fog had hung over the two armies, but it lifted now and then, and they saluted each other with their destructive artillery. This went on until about two o'clock, when Hooker moved forward with the intention of crossing the Antietam at the upper bridge and fords that were held by our cavalry, and assailing the Confederate left. It

Advance of Hooker

appeared to McClellan that it was easier to do this than to succeed by a direct attack in front.

Burnside was to keep his original position on the Rohrersville road, while the rest of our army was to hold itself ready to follow Hooker across the creek and support him in his assault.

"Fighting Jo" took up his task with his usual vim, and had not far to go when he encountered Jackson's outposts, supported by Hood, who rushed forward from Dunker Church. The battle of Antietam, therefore, opened in the large clearing to the north and east of the church. The struggle would have been desperate but for the darkness, which put an end to it for the time.

GENERAL JOSEPH K. T. MANSFIELD

That night Mansfield's corps crossed the Antietam and took position to the rear of Hooker. Sumner was ordered to follow at daybreak with the second corps. Franklin with Slocum's and Smith's divisions was to advance from Pleasant Valley at the same time with Porter, all being instructed to reach the battle-ground promptly at ten o'clock.

It will thus be seen that McClellan's arrangement was to employ the entire Army of the Potomac, with the exception of Couch's division, to crush Lee's army.

Lee read the purpose of the Union commander. He strengthened his left wing by sending Jackson to the support of Hood in the woods, where they had made so gallant a stand the night before. D. H. Hill in the center held himself ready to help Jackson whenever necessary.

Hooker impatiently awaited the dawn of the 17th, and at the earliest moment he advanced to the assault. McClellan intended that his attack should be so powerful that Lee would be compelled to send most of his forces to the vicinity of Dunker Church. Thus

Hooker's Assault

the way would be opened for Burnside to charge across the lower bridge. The plan was a good one, but it required the unhesitating co-operation of all the officers.

The fog of the previous day had vanished and the morning was clear and beautiful. Hooker's advance was in three divisions: Doubleday on the right, Meade in the center, and Ricketts on the left. Meade had not gone far when he received a hot fire from Starke's division, which had relieved Hood and was screened behind rocks, stumps, trees, and everything that gave shelter.

The fight for the possession of this wood was of the most furious character, exceeding anything of the kind that had yet taken place. Men fell by the scores, but the Confederates held their ground.

Exasperated by the savageness of the attack, Hooker threw his three divisions against the enemy. Besides, he was supported by the fire of the batteries on the left bank of the Antietam, whose havoc among Jackson's troops, great as it was, did not equal that of the musketry.

The Confederates Forced Back

At the end of an hour the Confederates began slowly falling back until they reached the broad clearing in the rear of the woods. Arriving there, they dashed across the open space into the forest on the east, beyond the Hagerstown turnpike. Hooker pressed hard after them, confident that he had the Confederates on the run, and meaning to keep them so.

Stuart's horse artillery was in the hills that fringed the woods on the west of Dunker Church, and commanding the piece of forest where the Confederates had run for shelter. Stuart's artillery held Doubleday in check, while Ricketts on the left was fighting fiercely with D. H. Hill's brigades that had been sent from the Confederate center to the support of Jackson.

Meanwhile, Meade was roughly handled and had suffered severely. While hurrying toward the Hagerstown pike he received a destructive volley of musketry. The Confederate Lawton, held in reserve with his division near Dunker Church, was dispatched by Jackson to the help of Starke, who was sorely pressed. The fire upon the Unionists now became so hot that they broke for cover. Seeing them on the run, Lawton ordered a charge. Starke supported it, and the Confederates were driving Hooker from the field, when the Union General Mansfield, who had been sent for in great haste, arrived and gave the help that saved Hooker.

Furious Fighting

The latter would not admit that his chance had passed. He was wrathfully eager to be "up and at it again." Re-forming his broken line with the best brigade in the center he dashed back to the assault. He reached the edge of the woods, but was received with the same fearful fire as before, and driven tumultuously back.

General Mansfield rushed his men into battle. He deployed his two divisions in the shape of a crescent in the clearing, while in the woods to the east, Greene attacked Hill, who had assailed Ricketts.

BLOODY LANE

General Williams on the right charged across the Hagerstown pike with his troops and strove desperately to drive out the Confederates from the woods and hills to the west, that he might flank those defending the position near Dunker Church. Starke was killed, Lawton, who succeeded him, wounded, and the loss of life among the officers and men of Jackson's command was so great that they fell back before the resistless attack.

The Union Losses

But the Union loss was fearful. Mansfield was mortally wounded, and Hartsuff of Hooker's corps and Crawford of Mansfield's corps were wounded. Hooker himself was shot through the foot, and, after fainting with pain, was carried from the field. The ground in each of the patches of woods and the clearing were strewn with dead bodies. The fighters could not always step over the inanimate forms, but were often forced to tread upon them where they lay two and

three deep. Hundreds of the latter were not dead, but dying, and their shrieks, mingling with the crash of musketry, the roar of cannon, and the yells of the combatants made a din beyond the power of imagination to picture.

Sumner's corps, reaching the field, was instantly engaged in the furious battle. It received so destructive a fire of musketry and shell from the enemy's breastworks and batteries that the line gave way in several places. Generals Sedgwick and Dana were wounded, while General Richardson on the left was mortally hurt, and General Meagher was disabled by the fall of his horse shot under him.

Lee saw his peril, and hurried all the reënforcements he could spare to the left. In fact, his whole center and Hood in reserve were called to the help of Jackson, who could not withstand the prodigious hammering. Hooker's men were fighting with the utmost bravery. Crouching behind trees and everything that gave the least protection, they fired as fast as they could reload their pieces, which became almost hot enough to blister their hands.

Danger of the Confederates

Unionists and Confederates fought until exhausted. Sumner, having crossed the river, was hurrying in the direction of Hooker's cannon, and Lee found himself in the alarming position of having only two divisions of Longstreet with which to defend the entire line of the Antietam. In the race from Harper's Ferry, however, McLaws beat Franklin, and, crossing the Potomac twice, joined Lee just in time to aid in the defense of Dunker Church. Sumner, however, in turn beat McLaws with his Second corps, and the prospect for the Confederates was gloomy indeed.

Nothing was clearer than that the hour had arrived for Burnside to strike. McClellan from a commanding position was carefully following every movement and varying phase of the battle. He had sent an order to Burnside (who, it will be remembered, had thirteen thousand men, and was separated by only a stone bridge from Longstreet) to capture the bridge and assail the enemy. Instead of doing as directed, Burnside sent a weak brigade against the guard at the bridge, supporting the assailants by two regiments only from Sturgis' division. The Confederates repulsed them without difficulty, as they did a brigade which tried to cross some distance below. Two more regiments renewed the charge at the bridge, but they were driven back as before. At the end of two hours no impression had been made on the Confederate right.

Burnside's Tardiness

It is hard to understand the extraordinary course of Burnside. McClellan sent order after order to him to make a general attack, but all that he did was to forward small bodies of troops that were repulsed and scattered by the Confederates without trouble.

Sumner and his second corps were pounding away once more on the right, Sedgwick in the advance, with French close behind him. Forming his division in column by deployed brigades, Sedgwick entered the east side of the clearing, and, charging diagonally across it, forced back Hood's brigades, who were fighting with great gallantry. Sedgwick pushed on until he reached the Hagerstown pike, across which he rushed into the woods from which Hooker and Mansfield had been driven. Not only was Dunker Church occupied, but the enemy was forced beyond the open fields on the other side. The very impetuosity of Sedgwick, however, worked ill for him. The momentum of his own blow, as it may be said, threw him too far, and his flanks were exposed. His right was partly protected by the woods and by General Doubleday, but his left had no such armor, and two of his divisions were beyond supporting distance. Then was the time, if ever, when he needed reënforcements.

Sedgwick's Gallant Charge

The Confederates wanted them just as much, and they were fortunate enough to get them first. McLaws came rushing down from Sharpsburg, with five thousand men, and, without stopping, they dashed with their ear-splitting yells against Sedgwick's left. The Union general faced his third brigade about, but he was not soon enough. The Confederates carried everything before them. Sedgwick had already been wounded three times, but refusing to leave the field, he desperately exerted himself to keep his men steady. Back and forth he dashed, swinging his sword over his head, and shouting to his men to stand firm, but the panic could not be checked. The Unionists ran out of the woods which they had just won by so much heroism. Williams' second brigade made a charge, but it availed nothing, though McLaws, who faced the Federals, was checked by the heavy artillery fire.

The Unionists Forced Back

Some time before this, Sumner, with the purpose of helping Sedgwick, ordered his other two divisions to assault, but they were too far apart. The three columns of the former, on arriving at the cross road leading to Dunker Church, moved around the end of the wood to attack McLaws' right, but the second line was thrown into confusion by an enfilading fire. The remainder of the two divisions

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held its ground firmly, and soon encountered Hill's soldiers to the northeast of Dunker Church.

Now that the whole right were fighting for their lives, the golden opportunity for Burnside had come. He had but to charge across that stone bridge in front of him to insure the rout of Lee's army, brave and magnificent as it was. But Burnside gave no sign. Couriers were continually arriving from McClellan with orders to attack, without another minute's delay, but the stones in the little structure

GENERAL LEE'S HEADQUARTERS

spanning the stream were no more motionless than was the Union officer.

Burnside's Failures

We have heard it said by the friends of Burnside that he declined to obey the orders of his superior because he was sure that McClellan did not know the situation as well as he, and he believed the force in his front was too powerful to be overcome. Be that as it may, the astounding tardiness, amounting to positive disobedience, on the part of the inferior, would have insured his being summarily shot in any other army except our own.

General Lee was not the one to shut his eyes to the opening that presented itself. He detached another division from Longstreet's corps, and sent it to check the Unionists, who were forging ahead on the left. This gave Burnside a still more favorable chance, but he stirred not.

McLaws was suffering from a destructive fire, and attacked the first division sent to the relief of Sedgwick's corps. But he was unable to break it, and farther along to the Union left, General Meagher's Irish brigade was fighting with as much vim as if it were a row at Donnybrook. Again and again the Confederates flung themselves against the men from the Emerald Isle, but it was like the ocean dashing against the rocky shore. The Irishmen held their ground with a gallantry beyond praise. Meagher himself was wounded and taken off the field, but Colonel Burke was on hand, and he leaped into the fight like the war-horse that snuffs the battle afar.

Gallantry of the Irish Brigade

The Confederates followed their custom of massing their forces and hurling them against what seemed the weakest portion of the Union lines. For a time this was ineffective. The Unionists captured the Roulette farm and re-occupied the hills near by, but the Confederates made so desperate a stand in the sunken road that it seemed impossible to dislodge them. At last they were flanked by a couple of regiments, and, after another savage conflict, the Unionists gained possession of the Piper house.

The sun was close to the zenith and the Confederate army was in great danger. If Burnside had charged, what a magnificent Union victory would have been secured at Antietam!

The enemy's position at Dunker Church had been turned, and Sedgwick's men had but a little farther to go to gain not only the clearing, but the woods through which, during the forenoon, victory swung back and forth like a pendulum.

Success of the Unionists

Pleasonton had covered the movement with three batteries of horse artillery and protected his flank, driving out the detachments left by Lee to guard the bridge of the Keedysville road, thus opening the way for Porter to cross the creek with his two divisions. But there was trouble that could not be overcome.

The Union force that had turned the tide at Dunker Church could not advance without help. Hooker's and Mansfield's men were mingled with Sedgwick's, and, at every attempt to advance, the Confederate batteries near Dunker Church enfiladed them. Porter remained in reserve and Burnside remained inactive.

But early in the afternoon, the Unionists were reënforced by Franklin with the two strong divisions of the sixth corps. They lost no time in swinging into line to the support of the right. The loss on each side, however, had been so great that neither could

Mutual Exhaustion

assume the aggressive. In Lee's army, every reserve was fighting, while a large number on the Union side were idle. Lee shortened his lines by withdrawing his left wing from Dunker Church, which was immediately taken possession of by the Unionists. A brigade was also sent to assist a battery in peril of capture on the Hagerstown pike, while another brigade was hurried to the relief of French, whose ammunition was running low.

The Unionists encountered McLaws' soldiers in the woods near

FRANKLIN'S CROSSING

Dunker Church and were repulsed. Franklin massed all of Slocum's division behind the church and made ready to assault the Confederate line. It was during the hot fire of the troops of French and Richardson that the latter officer was mortally wounded.

Porter, under the protection of Pleasonton's cavalry, had captured the Keedysville road and hurried six battalions of infantry to the help of the mounted batteries of the cavalry division.

Action at Last by Burnside

One o'clock, and Burnside still idle. By this time, McClellan began to feel that the continual sending of orders to him, only to have them disregarded, was becoming monotonous. He dispatched a superior officer and instructed him not only to deliver the order, but to stay and see that it was obeyed. This caused Burnside to do something.

It will be remembered that the weak attempts he had made were

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Burnside at Fredericksburg. Dec. 13. 1862.

easily frustrated by the converging fire of Longstreet, but Lee had been compelled to weaken the forces guarding the bridge, in order to hold his lines at other points. When, therefore, Burnside precipitated General Ferrero's four regiments, supported by a strong force, upon Toombs and his weak brigade, they were swept aside. Although the Federal loss was three hundred killed, they carried the bridge.

At the same time that this took place, Rodman's division rushed across a newly discovered ford a little way down stream, while Burnside with his corps took possession of the hills between Sharpsburg and the stream near the Rohrersville road.

Gloomy Outlook for Lee

Matters could not have looked any worse for Lee. A general Union advance it seemed must sweep everything before it, but that general advance was not made.

For two hours Burnside was engaged in re-forming his line and waiting for the rest of his corps to join him, and Sumner, on reaching Dunker Church, was so alarmed by the disorganization of Sedgwick's corps that he took the responsibility of forbidding the general attack which Franklin was about to make. McClellan held Porter's corps in reserve, so as to be ready for any demonstration on the part of the enemy.

The afternoon was well advanced and Burnside was driving Toombs' brigades pell-mell, and had almost gained the Confederate artillery, when General A. P. Hill, just coming in from Harper's Ferry with his strong division, fiercely attacked Burnside's left flank. The Federals were staggered and checked, but they fought with the utmost bravery, and a number of diversions were made in their favor, but Burnside was driven to the shelter of the bluff overlooking the creek.

Counting the Toll

Thus ended the fighting on the Union left, and hostilities for the day were at an end. The battle of Antietam, the most terrific and the bloodiest of the war, was over. The Union loss was 2,010 killed, 9,416 wounded, and 1,043 prisoners. Included in this loss were 3 division commanders, 2 corps commanders, and 8 generals.

The loss of Lee was more than 1,500 killed, among whom were Generals Starke and French, and his wounded and prisoners brought the total to fully 8,000. Thirteen guns, 39 colors, and more than 15,000 stand of small arms, and upwards of 6,000 prisoners were

secured in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, while not a gun or color was lost by our army.

Burying the Dead

On the morning of the 18th, the Confederates under a flag of truce asked permission to bury their dead who had fallen between the lines of the two armies, and the request was granted. The 18th was spent by the Union army in gathering the scattered soldiers, giving rest to the exhausted, burying the dead, looking after the wounded, and making preparations to renew the attack.

The battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg was claimed by both sides

SUMNER'S CROSSING

as a victory. The Unionists asserted with good reason that Lee was compelled to turn back from his invasion of the North, and to withdraw once more to his old fighting-ground; but the Confederates insisted that this withdrawal was not because of the battle of Antietam, for it had been decided upon before that conflict. Lee had failed to gain the recruits he expected in Maryland. He was far from his base of supplies, and he knew that McClellan would soon receive large reënforcements. It was necessary, therefore, for him to fall back nearer his base, where he could better sustain himself.

The Confederate Retreat

General Longstreet was the first to retreat on the night of the 18th, crossing the river near Shepherdstown. The rest of the troops followed, the cavalry bringing up the rear, and the next morning were ready for any attack which the Union army might choose to make.

McClellan hurried Porter forwards, and he crossed the river some distance from the main body. Falling upon Pendleton and his six hundred infantry, he routed them and captured four of their guns. Lee, learning what had been done, sent General A. P. Hill with orders to drive Porter over the river. He did so, forcing hundreds into the stream, where many were shot and others drowned.

After several weeks' rest, General McClellan once more took up the pursuit of the Confederates, entering Virginia at Rectortown, on the 26th of October. The Federal government wished a second campaign to be made against Richmond before winter set in, the North having become clamorous for the movement.

McClellan's Plan of Campaign

McClellan favored the advance by the route he had taken in the spring, making his base of supplies at West Point, on the Pamunkey; but the government could not consent, because it would leave the way open for a counter movement against Washington, just as had been the case before. McClellan yielded and chose Alexandria on the Potomac as his base of operations.

The plan was to advance from this point by way of the Orange railway through Culpeper to Gordonsville, and thence by the Virginia Central to its junction with the line extending from Fredericksburg to Richmond.

But it was not until November that McClellan announced himself ready to resume the forward movement. On the 7th of that month, just as he was about to open his campaign, a messenger arrived from Washington, superseding him and transferring the command to General Burnside.

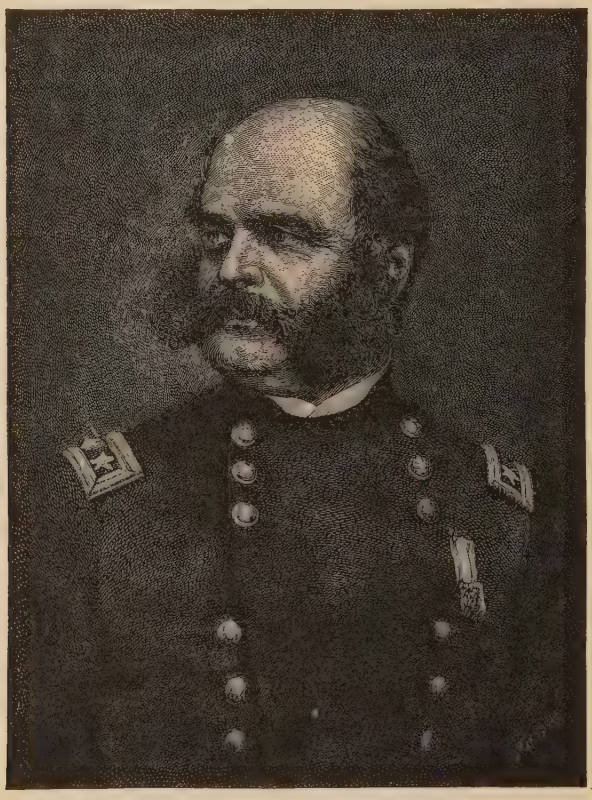
The latter made a change in the plan of campaign, forming a new base of supplies at the mouth of Acquia creek, fifty-five miles below Washington, from which point he meant to fight his way southward through Fredericksburg.

Enforced Delay

But the fates seemed to be against the Union army. The indispensable pontoons, without which the river could not be crossed, did not arrive, and two weeks were lost in preparations. This gave Lee abundance of time in which to make ready for the Union advance. He gathered his soldiers and took possession of the heights about Fredericksburg. His plan was to allow the Unionists to cross over and then drive them from the front of his intrenchments.

On the 11th of December, Burnside brought his army into position on the eastern shore of the Rappahannock. His lines extended

from Falmouth to a point some three miles below. The pontoons were laid in front of the Federal left wing, commanded by Franklin, and the river was easily crossed; but the center and right, under Sumner and Hooker, were much hindered by the Confederate sharpshooters hidden in Fredericksburg. Becoming impatient, Burnside turned his artillery on the town and knocked it into ruins. Several



GENERAL AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE

Union regiments were then ferried over in boats, and the pickets of the enemy were driven back to the heights. The bridges were finished, and by dusk, on the 12th of December, the Army of the Potomac was on the western side of the Rappahannock.

Battle of Fredericksburg

The battle of Fredericksburg opened on the morning of the 13th, beginning on the left, where Franklin's division encountered the corps of Stonewall Jackson. Generals Meade and Doubleday kept the Confederates at bay for several hours. The latter largely out-

THE STONE WALL UNDER MARYE'S HEIGHTS

numbered the former, who sent for reënforcements. When they arrived, they found the Federals bravely holding their ground and fighting with the same heroism they showed from the first.

Early in the afternoon General Meade led a charge up the slope, which opened a gap in the Confederate lines, and he not only planted his colors within the enemy's intrenchments, but captured several hundred prisoners. He called for reënforcements, but none were sent, and the Confederates rallying in large numbers, the Unionists were driven out with the loss of thirty-seven hundred men.

The Union center and right suffered a rout. A portion of General Sumner's forces were thrown against Marye's Hill, where the Confederate position was as impregnable as a mountain wall. The brave Union soldiers were mowed down, while the defenders were hardly touched. With an imbecility beyond explanation, the assault was repeated again and again, with severe loss in each instance.

A Disastrous Repulse

General Humphreys, with a number of Hooker's troops, charged with unloaded guns, and within a few minutes one-half of them were stretched dead or wounded on the wintry plain. The gallant Hancock kept up the fight until several thousand were lost, when he fell back, grimly remarking that he supposed he had lost enough to satisfy the commander of the army.

Night finally brought an end to the carnage, but Burnside was determined to renew the assault on the morrow. His division commanders, however, succeeded in dissuading him, and that night the beaten Army of the Potomac, amid the intense cold and sleet, staggered back to the other side of the Rappahannock.

A Great Blunder

The assault of the Confederate position at Fredericksburg was one of the most horrible blunders of the war, for there was not a probability of success from the beginning. It is a severe thing to say, but it was a fact that the entire Army of the Potomac contained but one man who saw any hope in the rash assault, and sad was it that he was the commander of the brave patriots.

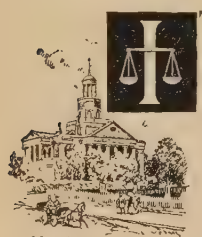
The Confederate loss was 595 killed, 4,061 wounded, and 653 missing and prisoners. The Union army lost 1,500 killed, 9,100 wounded, and 1,653 prisoners and missing.

THE BROKEN SHACKLES

CHAPTER XI

EVENTS OF 1863—IN THE WEST

[*Author's Note:* Among the many interesting matters in this chapter, mention is made of the depreciation in value of the currency issued by our government during the war. At one time gold rose to 285—that is, one dollar in paper money was worth about thirty-five cents in gold. The presidential campaign of 1896 had for one of its paramount issues the question whether a government has power to create money—fiat money. A great many good citizens were laboring under the hallucination that if our government should print on fine paper with silken threads interwoven, promises to pay, those pieces of paper would be money. The Confederate government did this during the War of the Rebellion; but it was not money in any proper sense of the term. To make it such, there must be absolute confidence where it circulates that the government is able to perform its promises to pay. A pair of boots cost in Confederate money $500, an overcoat $1,000. A five-dollar greenback was worth more than a Confederate 1000-dollar bill. One of our foremost thinkers says: "If the imprint of a government press can make money out of paper, why should any government collect taxes?" There must be actual value to render certain the ability to pay. The value of paper money depends entirely upon the real money for which it is exchangeable. To produce the gold that will redeem a dollar in paper requires in an average way a dollar's worth of labor. The authorities for this chapter are Tenney's "The Army of the Cumberland," J. T. Headley's "Farragut and Our Naval Commanders," and "The Military and Naval History of the Rebellion."]


Vicksburg Court House.

IT must be admitted that the cause of the Union had made substantial progress during the year 1862. The important Union victories were Mill Spring, Forts Henry and Donelson, Pea Ridge, Pittsburg Landing, and Corinth in the west, the battle between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*, that of Roanoke Island, and of New Orleans. The Union lines had been advanced across the state of Tennessee; the Mississippi was almost opened; the blockade was becoming more rigid, so that the South began to feel the need of many things, chiefly

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

quinine, and although the national arms had received repeated reverses in the east, the two Confederate invasions were beaten back. There had been a vicious outbreak of the Sioux Indians in western Minnesota in the summer, but troops were sent thither and they were subdued, thirty-eight of the most guilty being convicted of murder and hanged.

The Great Task

But the truth was forced upon the government that the suppression of the rebellion was to be no easy matter. By the opening of the new year 1,300,000 volunteers had been called for, the number of vessels in the navy was about 600, and the expenses reached the astounding total of $3,000,000 a day.

Slavery, the real cause of the war, was left to itself for a time. The subject was one of perilous delicacy. The shrewd President resisted the demands of the abolitionists, and thereby saved many friends to the Union in the border states. In his younger days, Abraham Lincoln, coming face to face with the hideous features of the institution, declared that if he ever had the chance to strike it, he would "strike hard." So he waited until the right hour had come, and then the blow that he dealt was mortal.

The President prayed to the Almighty to turn back the Confederate invasion, and pledged that if his prayer were granted he would issue an Emancipation Proclamation. The prayer was answered, and immediately after the battle of Antietam he put forth his proclamation, warning the seceding states that he would declare their slaves free unless they returned to the Union before the first day of the coming year. The only attention paid to this warning was in the form of ridicule. And so on the 1st of January, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, by which in the fullness of time the shackles were stricken from the limbs of four millions of black people, and African slavery ceased to exist on the American continent.

"Greenbacks"

Vast sums of money were required to support the armies and navies, and the revenues were insufficient. In 1862 the government issued paper money in bills, which became known as "greenbacks," because of the color of the ink with which the backs were printed. These bills were made a "legal tender," that is, every person had the right to pay his debts with "greenbacks," no matter how much they might decrease in value. It would have been unsafe to issue too much of this money, for its value would have run down at a ruinous

rate, as was the case during the Revolution. During a short period in 1863, gold reached a premium of two hundred and eighty-five, making a paper dollar worth about thirty-five cents in gold. A large part of the war expenses was paid by loans, by the sale of bonds, or promises to pay in the future with interest. To aid in the sale of bonds, the National Banking system was established in 1863.

This year was to be one of mighty campaigns and tremendous battles. It was to witness the death-grapple between the Union and the Southern Confederacy, and the war was fought with unsurpassable skill and heroism by the forces arrayed against each other.

The Military Situation

Now, let us strive to understand the military situation as it was at the beginning of the year. There were four Union armies in the west: Rosecrans commanded the one near Murfreesboro, Tenn.; Grant, that near Holly Springs, Miss.; Banks, who had succeeded Butler, that in New Orleans; while the fourth was in Arkansas, where the Confederates were comparatively weak. The chief aim of the Union armies was to open the Mississippi and split the Confederacy in two. Grant being nearest the river, the main work fell upon him and his assistant, General William Tecumseh Sherman.

In the east was the most formidable army of the Confederacy under its foremost general. Its successes had made it defiant and confident, and its defeat was the hardest task of the many that confronted the forces of the Union.

The Battle of Murfreesboro

The year was ushered in by one of the great battles of the war. Rosecrans was posted partly at Nashville and partly along the line of the Cumberland river, with Bragg, forty miles away at Murfreesboro, watching him. Rosecrans advanced against the enemy, December 26, 1862. Considerable skirmishing took place on the 30th. The pickets of General Polk were driven in, and that night the campfires of the two armies twinkled within sight of each other. They met on the banks of the Stone river (because of this fact the Confederates refer to the battle by that name), each having troops on different sides of the stream. During the night a body of Confederate cavalry passed entirely around the Union army, attacking the wagon-trains and capturing a large amount of stores.

By a curious coincidence the plans of battle by Bragg and Rosecrans were precisely the same. Rosecrans meant to mass his troops on the right wing of the enemy under General Breckinridge, before

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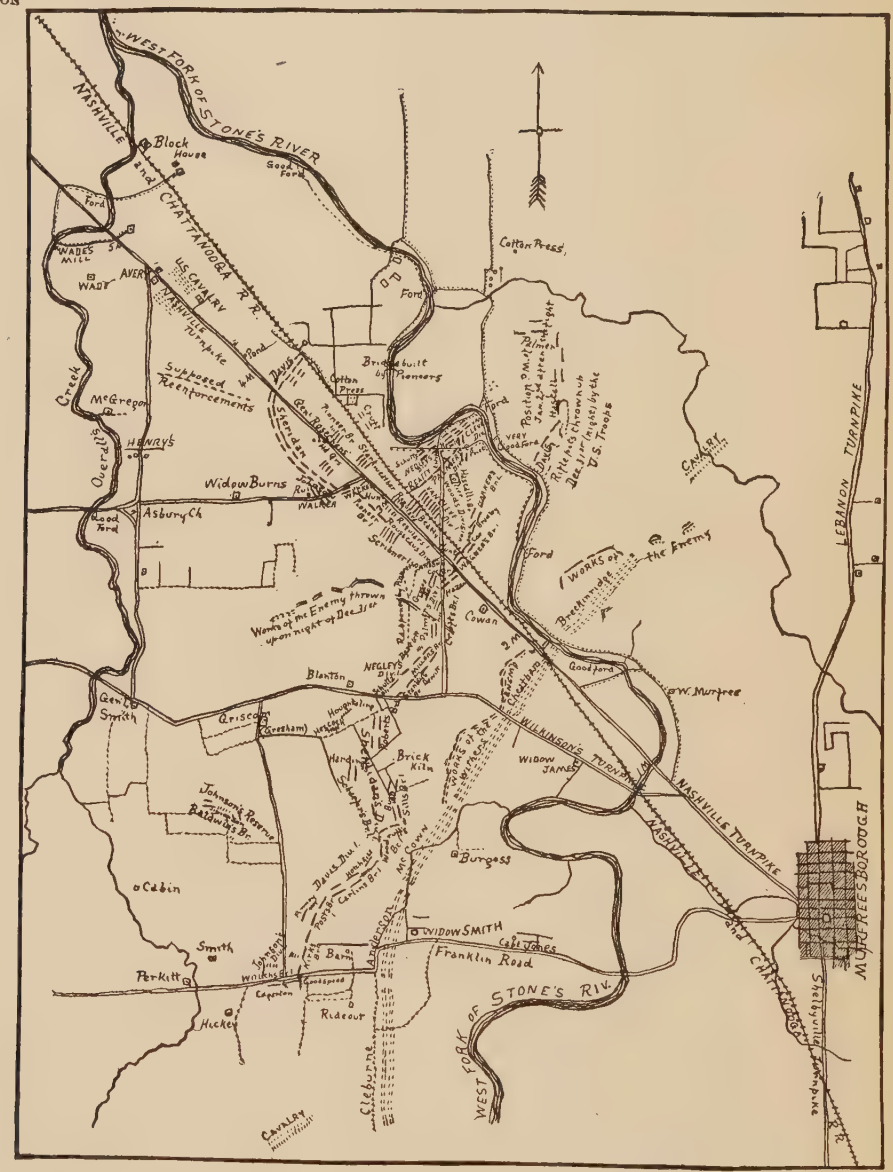
reënforcements could reach him from the west side of the river. Bragg was the first to move, and early in the morning, in a dense



STONE RIVER

fog, he impetuously assailed the Union right. The attack was unexpected, and the two divisions of Johnson and Davis were

driven from the field with the loss of a number of guns and prisoners.

While news of this disaster was on its way to Rosecrans, Sheridan's division received the assault in front and on one of its flanks. The men fought with the utmost bravery, and though finally compelled to yield slightly, Sheridan formed a new line, and having used all the ammunition of his infantry, held his position with the bayonet.

The First Day's Battle

To make his intended attack on the Confederate right, Rosecrans was obliged to cross the river and meet the single division of Breckinridge; but learning the peril of his own right, the Union commander made haste to concentrate his forces there. He had just time to do so, when the whole Confederate army, with the exception of Breckinridge's division, was launched against it.

Four times did the enemy rush out of the cedar thickets he had won and charged, but was repulsed in every instance. Then Breckinridge's seven thousand were brought over the river, and twice again was the attack made, and twice again were the Confederates driven back. Night suspended the battle, with the right wing of the Union army driven in upon the left, and a considerable part of the field in possession of the enemy.

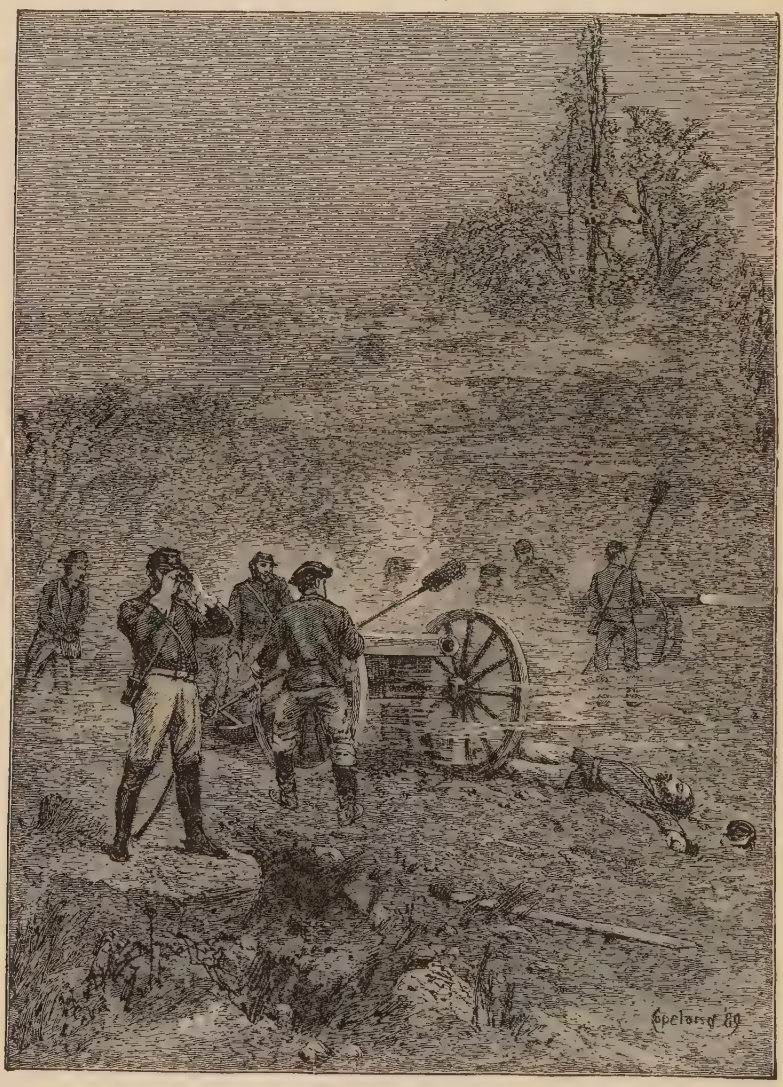
There was some cavalry skirmishing on New Year's day, but no serious fighting. The men on both sides were worn out, and time was needed to rest and re-form the shattered ranks, and to gird themselves for the final struggle. Rosecrans fell back a little way, and intrenched himself and sent his wounded to the rear. Confederate detachments were kept busy capturing supplies and picking up information, and since communication had been cut several times with Nashville, during the progress of the battle, Rosecrans prepared to defend the possession of the road leading thither.

The Union Advance

At three o'clock on the afternoon of January 2, the Union division that had been sent across the river was furiously attacked and driven back. Being reënforced, the Unionists in turn drove the enemy, who retreated to its lines, leaving the dead and wounded on the field. Shortly after, Rosecrans ordered the whole line to advance. The Confederate right was shattered, and the flank placed in such peril that Bragg withdrew his entire force, and night once more ended the savage struggle.

A severe storm prevented further fighting on the 3d, but Bragg saw that to hold Tennessee he must give up Murfreesboro. He sent

his prisoners and baggage-wagons to the rear, and late at night began his retreat. He took a new position some fifty miles to the south. Murfreesboro was occupied by the Union troops on the 5th,



A BATTERY IN ACTION

and they took charge of the hundreds of sick and wounded that the enemy had left there.

There were about ninety thousand men engaged in this great bat-

tle, of whom more than a fourth were killed or wounded, the number of killed, wounded, and prisoners on each side being about the same. It was fought in accordance with the best military rules, both commanders displaying fine ability, but the engagement produced no perceptible effect on the war itself.

The Confederates at Vicksburg still held the Mississippi securely locked, and the government was determined that it should be opened. Before making the final attempt, two army corps under Morgan and Sherman were sent against the fortified village of Arkansas Post on the Arkansas river, where there was a force of nearly four thousand men, commanded by General Churchill. Landing four miles below the fort on the 9th, the Union troops invested it, opening the attack two days later. The outer line of intrenchments was carried, and the fire was so severe that the garrison surrendered. The fort was blown up and the prisoners forwarded to Cairo. Returning to Young's Point, just below Vicksburg, the Unionists established a permanent camp and were soon joined by Grant, who took command.

Capture of Arkansas Post

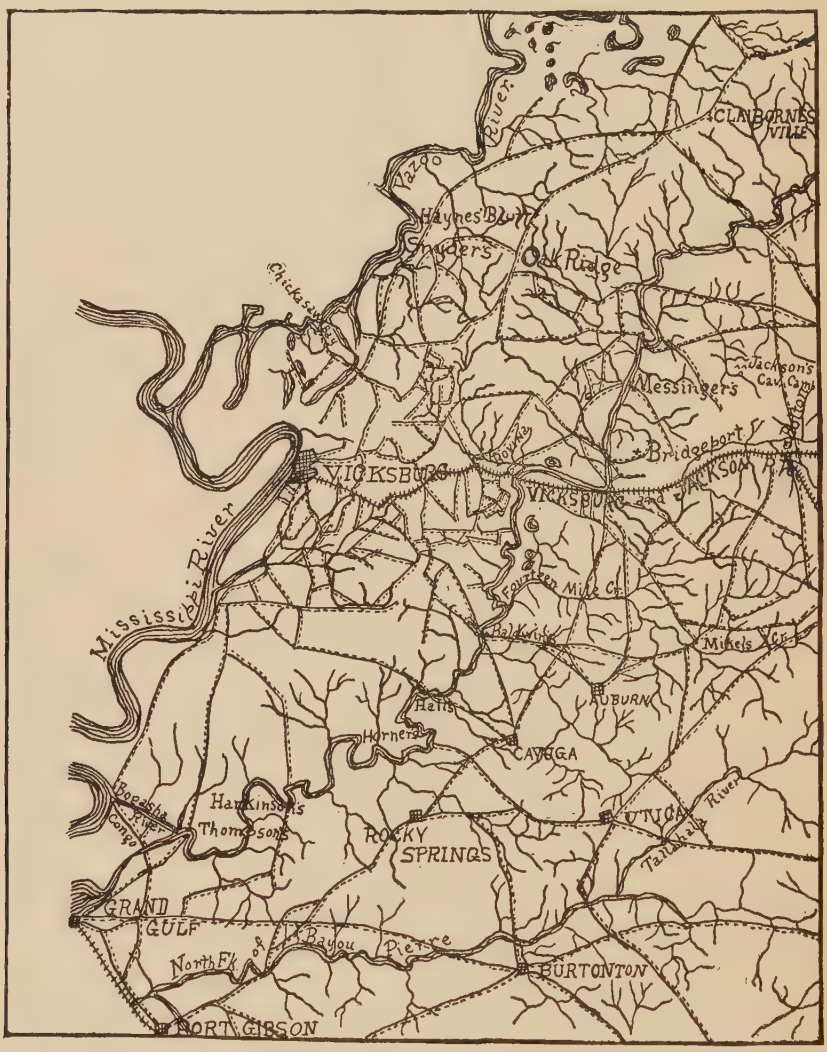
Grant's trained eye saw that the defenses of Vicksburg towards the Mississippi and the lower portion of the Yazoo were too formidable to be taken by storm. His plan, therefore, was to turn the rear of the lines, and, forcing an entrance into the upper part of the Yazoo, secure a position at the rear of the batteries at Haines' Bluff.

In carrying out this plan, Grant received invaluable aid from Admiral Porter's ironclads. The *Queen of the West* was specially active, and opened communication with the Union fleet in the lower part of the river. She attacked and disabled a Confederate steamer under the guns of Vicksburg, and she and the *Indianola* explored many of the bayous, creeks, and wooded streams, facing dangers from sharpshooters on the banks and torpedoes in the water. They destroyed a large amount of cotton, captured more, and inflicted great damage on the enemy. Finally, however, the Confederates captured both of the boats.

In April a naval and military force passed through the Yazoo Pass into the Tallahatchee, nearly to the junction of the latter river with the Yalabusha, until stopped by the guns of Fort Pemberton. An unsuccessful attack was made on this fort, and the expedition with considerable difficulty returned to the Mississippi. A still harder task was that of another naval force that attempted to reach the

Before Vicksburg

Upper Yazoo from the Mississippi. The streams were shallow and choked with logs, trees and vegetation. Often the boats seemed as hard aground as if all the waters had been drained off. The chan-



VICKSBURG AND VICINITY

nels frequently had to be widened before the ironclads could move, and no one knew when or where they would be brought to a final standstill. The Confederates felled trees in front and behind the gunboats, while their sharpshooters kept up a continual fusillade

from the gloom of the dense forest of cypress, sycamore, and cottonwood on every hand. The time came when Admiral Porter saw his vessels so inextricably entangled that every one was certain to be lost unless help reached him. Word, therefore, was sent to General Sherman, who hastened to the relief with a division which drove away the enemy. The fleet came back to the Mississippi with the knowledge that it was impossible to force a passage into the Upper Yazoo. That plan, as well as the one of opening a new channel for the Mississippi, was abandoned.

The next step was to cut through in several places the levees along the Yazoo. It was hoped, by thus flooding the country to the rear of Vicksburg, to shut off its communication with Jackson and stop the supplies for the garrison.

Running the Batteries

Admiral Farragut had made the attempt to run the batteries at Port Hudson, and reach Vicksburg. On a night in March, of impenetrable darkness, he steamed stealthily up the river, in his flagship *Hartford*, followed by the rest of the fleet. The *Hartford* had hardly passed the first line of batteries at Port Hudson, when the Confederates discovered her. Immense bonfires on the bank lit up the river, and revealed the grim procession on its way to Vicksburg. The vessels did not wait to be attacked, but opened fire, the mortar-boats hurling an immense number of shells with great precision. The dense smoke threw the line in confusion, but the *Hartford* was so far in the lead that she kept beyond this curtain.

The Union vessels had formed in pairs, each of the heavier ones with a gunboat on its port side, excepting the *Mississippi*. In addition to the latter, there were the *Hartford*, the *Albatross*, the *Richmond*, the *Genessee*, the *Monongahela*, and the *Kineo*.

Union Vessels Disabled

The batteries on shore opened a hot fire, with the result that the *Richmond* was so disabled that she was compelled to retreat. The same mishap befell the *Monongahela*. The *Mississippi* ran aground, was almost riddled by the fort, and, drifting down stream, blew up. This boat was the flagship of Commodore Perry in his expedition to Japan.

The only vessels that were not destroyed or driven out of the action were the *Hartford* and the *Albatross*. They arrived below Vicksburg, March 20, and were joined by the ram *Switzerland*, which ran the batteries a few days later. But Farragut had not accomplished what he set out to do, and the land force on its way from

Baton Rouge to help in the attack on Vicksburg turned back and Farragut retired.

General Grant was not the man to give up any task once undertaken. He had determined to capture Vicksburg, and no failure or delay could turn him from his purpose. His plan was to cut off the enemy's communication with the east by turning the defenses of the Mississippi and the Yazoo. General McClernand was sent, on March 29, to occupy New Carthage to the south, while General Banks came up from New Orleans so as to threaten Port Hudson. His advance was hindered by obstructions and the burning of bridges, but his force was too strong to be stopped, and on the 20th of April he was at Opelousas, nearly two hundred miles northwest of New Orleans. Shortly after he established himself at Simmsport.

Grant's Tenacity

Admiral Porter was lying with his fleet above Vicksburg, and had made several unsuccessful efforts to join Farragut below. The final and successful attempt was on the night of April 16, with the flagship *Benton*, the *Lafayette*, the *Louisville*, the *Mound City*, the *Pittsburg*, the *Carondelet*, the *Tuscumbia*, the *General Price*, and the army transports *Silver Wave*, *Henry Clay*, and *Forest Queen*, and the tug *Joy*. Under a tremendous fire, all the fleet, excepting the transport *Henry Clay* (which caught fire and sank), passed safely, and joined Farragut, only one man being killed and two wounded.

General Grant was so well pleased with Porter's success, that he prepared six more transports to run the batteries. They did so on the night of the 22d, with the loss of one of their number. Admiral Porter's gunboats were stationed at New Carthage, whither Grant now went, soon moving south to Hard Times on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi, and opposite Grand Gulf, a short distance below the mouth of the Big Black river.

Expedition Against Grand Gulf

The first necessity was to capture Grand Gulf. McClernand was so slow that Grant took charge of the task himself. On April 29, he embarked a part of his troops and moved to the front of the fortifications. Porter was to silence them with his gunboats, when the troops would land, and carry them by storm. The fire, however, could not be silenced, and Grant landed lower down the river, intending to take the position in reverse.

General Pemberton in Vicksburg became alarmed by Grant's movements and telegraphed to General Joseph E. Johnston for instructions. He was ordered to attack Grant at once, but Johnston

was so engaged with Rosecrans in Tennessee that he could not send any reënforcements to Pemberton.

Accordingly, Pemberton ordered General Bowen, commanding at Grand Gulf, to check, if possible, the Union advance upon Port Gibson. Before daylight on the morning of May 1, Bowen was encountered four miles from Port Gibson and driven back. The Federals advanced in force on the morning of the 2d, with Grant in personal command. His success was so decisive in the series of engagements that followed, that Bowen saw the impossibility of holding Grand Gulf. He evacuated it, and on the morning of the 3d, when Porter made a demonstration against it, the place was empty. The magazines had been blown up and the cannon spiked, but thirteen heavy guns fell into the hands of the Federals.

Grand Gulf Evacuated

Vicksburg now was the only obstruction left, and the Confederates concentrated all their efforts upon making the place impregnable. Grant's energy and vigilance were wonderful. For days and nights he slept only a few minutes at a time, and in no campaign did he show more strikingly his remarkable military ability.

When the major portion of the Union party moved from Milliken's Bend, Sherman crossed the Mississippi, landed his troops on the left bank of the Yazoo on the 6th of May, and, aided by the gunboats, attacked Haines' Bluff, with the purpose of preventing reënforcements being sent from Vicksburg to Grand Gulf. There was no intention of taking the place, and the expedition returned the next day.

Since Beauregard intended to forward troops to Jackson, it would not do to delay, so Grant determined to attack the place before the enemy could reach it. While fighting his way thither, Grant learned that Johnston had occupied the town with a large force with which he expected to relieve Vicksburg. McPherson and Sherman fought a battle in front of the place, May 14, and drove the Confederates into the city, which they evacuated soon after.

Grant's Masterly Work

Grant knew that he had in Johnston as his foe one of the ablest of the Confederate leaders. He learned from intercepted dispatches that Johnston had ordered Pemberton to leave Vicksburg and attack the Union rear. Grant decided to forestall this movement by his own advance, thus keeping Pemberton in and Johnston out of Vicksburg.

Since Jackson was likely to be Johnston's base of operations, that

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city was burned before the Federals left it. Meanwhile, Pemberton, with eighteen thousand men, crossed the Big Black, and met a portion of the Union forces before the latter expected him, but Grant hurried up the different divisions on their way thither, and in a battle at Champion's Hill the Confederates received a decisive repulse and were driven back in confusion. The pursuit was so vigorous and skillful that most of the force was captured, with seventeen pieces of artillery. Grant succeeded in his design of shutting up Pemberton

CONFEDERATE WORKS, VICKSBURG

in Vicksburg and preventing Johnston from sending him any help.

Vicksburg Invested

Vicksburg was too strong to be taken by storm, and Grant began its investment about the middle of May. The garrison had only sixty days' provisions, which had to answer not only for them, but for the inhabitants of the town.

Johnston set out to raise a strong force with which to relieve Pemberton. He secured a considerable number of troops, and Grant, knowing that the Confederate leader meant to attack him in the rear, ordered an assault upon Vicksburg, at two o'clock on the morning of May 19. It met with partial success, which was repeated on a larger scale three days later. The Unionists displayed the utmost heroism, only to be repulsed with the loss of three thousand men. At the same time Porter's fleet received more damage than it inflicted.

The Union army was reënforced about the middle of June, and the investment of the town was made complete. The garrison and the people showed the highest degree of courage and endurance. For six weeks shot and shell rained into the town without intermission day and night. The inhabitants spent most of their time in caves dug into the hill on which the city stands. Nothing but the barest necessities of life were left, while the besiegers by their parallels and approaches drew nearer and nearer to the besieged. There were mining and countermining, and every attempt by the Confederates to relieve the town was defeated. The people lived on mule and dog meat, with only scant supply of that diet; bread was made from bean-meal, and coffee from corn-meal; the sultry air was tainted by unburied corpses; shells were continually falling, and the soldiers were worn out. Of the twenty-one thousand under the command of Pemberton, six thousand were in the hospitals, while Grant had sixty thousand men eager for the assault, which was ordered to be made on July 6.

Hardships in Vicksburg

But on the morning of July 3 a white flag was seen fluttering on the crest of a hill outside of the town. A messenger was sent to bring in the two bearers, who were led blindfolded to the tent of General A. J. Smith. They brought with them a note from Pemberton to Grant, proposing an armistice preparatory to arranging terms for the surrender of Vicksburg. Grant replied that no commissioners were necessary, since he would consider no terms except unconditional surrender.

Surrender of Pemberton

Although the fortifications were too strong to be taken by storm, Pemberton had no choice but to accept Grant's terms. While he claimed to be in position to hold out indefinitely, yet as a matter of fact he had scanty provisions for his garrison for only sixty days, and he must feed the inhabitants of the town out of this limited supply. He saw that in the end he must submit, so to avoid much useless suffering and loss of life, he decided to surrender at once. So the two commanders met shortly after between the lines, and were introduced by Colonel Montgomery, one of the bearers of the flag of truce. They courteously saluted each other, shook hands, and drew aside to discuss the business that had brought them together.

Pemberton found, as was always the case, that Grant was ready to give generous terms to the conquered. He allowed the garrison to be paroled and sent to their homes, not to serve again until properly

exchanged, while the arms, stores, trophies, and the town became, of course, the prize of the conquerors. By this wise act, Grant saved his government the work and expense of sending the garrison north, and held his own forces free to operate against Johnston.

The formal surrender took place on the 4th of July. When Pemberton was censured by the South for selecting that day, he explained that he could not well help it, and he believed, further, that he would receive better terms because of the associations connected with the anniversary. Possibly after all he was not wholly wrong. The officers were allowed to keep their side-arms and private baggage, and field and cavalry officers were permitted one horse each, while the privates were furnished with enough rations to last them to their homes.

Terms of the Surrender

By the capture of Vicksburg the Union army secured more than 20,000 prisoners, including three major-generals and nine brigadiers, about a hundred pieces of artillery, and 40,000 small arms. Grant thus summed up the results of the campaign: "the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg, the occupation of Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg, its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, at least 10,000 killed and wounded, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, and much that was destroyed to prevent our capturing it."

The great task of opening the Mississippi was not quite completed, for Port Hudson still held out, though its fate depended upon that of Vicksburg. General Banks, leaving Simmsport in May, had crossed the Mississippi and advanced against the fort. He drove the defenders from the outer works, on the 25th, but a vigorous assault, two days later, in which he was aided by Farragut and his fleet, was repulsed. The garrison numbered about six thousand, under the command of General Gardiner. The investment was made, and another assault on the 14th of June failed. The siege was in progress, when news reached Gardiner of the fall of Vicksburg. He saw that further resistance was vain, and surrendered July 9.

Opening of the Mississippi

The Mississippi was now open from its source to the Gulf of Mexico, and the Southern Confederacy was split in twain.

Military operations in other quarters contributed to the success of

VICKSBURG—SURRENDER OF PEMBERTON TO GRANT.

J. Steeple Davis.

The formal surrender of Vicksburg took place July 4th, 1863. It was too strong to be taken by storm, and its investment began about the middle of May. The garrison had only about sixty days' provisions, which had to answer not only for them, but for the inhabitants of the town.

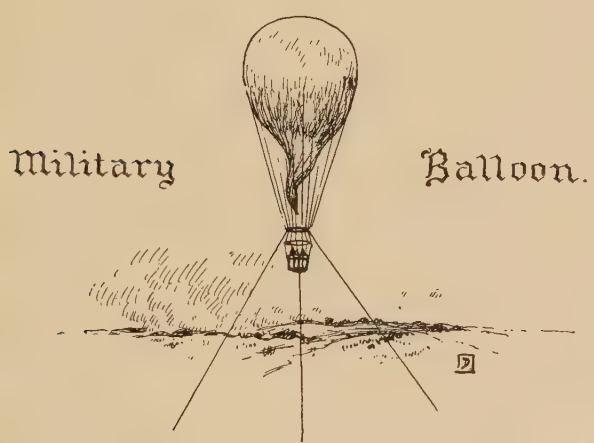
Our illustration here represents Pemberton and Grant discussing the terms, after being introduced by Colonel Montgomery, one of the bearers of the flag of truce.

The movements in and about Vicksburg both on land and water furnished much material for history. It might be added that upon meeting, Pemberton and Grant courteously saluted each other, and cordially shook hands.

Steve Davis

Grant before Vicksburg. His masterly generalship kept General Johnston out of the place, while with an iron grip he held Pemberton immovable until he and his garrison were made prisoners. Bragg was anxious to send reënforcements from Tennessee to Johnston, but Rosecrans, after the victory at Murfreesboro, prevented him from doing so. General Marmaduke, Confederate, at the beginning of the year, failed in an attempt to seize Springfield in southwestern Missouri. In April he threatened Cape Girardeau, a short distance above Cairo, but, failing again, retreated into Arkansas. About the same time, General Kirby Smith in Louisiana attacked the Union camp at Milliken's Bend, but was repulsed, and another Confederate force met defeat soon after at Richmond, so that every effort to draw Grant from Vicksburg failed.

Grant gave his wearied soldiers a few weeks' rest after the capture of Vicksburg. Sherman was sent after Johnston, who was threatening the rear of the Union army, and the Confederates were compelled to retreat westward.



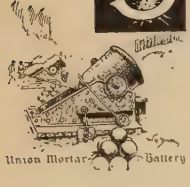
"THE ROCK OF CHICKAMAUGA"

CHAPTER XII

EVENTS OF 1863 (CONTINUED)

IN THE SOUTHWEST

[*Author's Note:* Among the men who made their names historic during the Civil War, there was probably no general whose ability was more marked than that of George H. Thomas. He distinguished himself by the fact that he never commanded a body of men that suffered defeat. At Chickamauga his corps stood firm after all the rest of the army had been routed, and he gained for himself the sobriquet "The Rock of Chickamauga." His defeat of Zollicoffer at Mill Spring made him a major-general, and his services at Chattanooga were valuable beyond estimate. His operations against Hood showed him to be a brilliant military tactician. His discretion and reliability, his modesty and simplicity of character, rendered him one of the most interesting and admirable leaders that distinguished themselves during our Civil War. When, in 1868, President Johnson offered him the brevet of lieutenant-general, and later that of general, he declined to accept on the ground that he had done nothing since the war to merit the promotion. In reading the story of his life one is reminded of Cincinnatus, the grim old commander of the Roman legions. The authorities for this chapter are Tenney's "The Army of the Cumberland," "Military and Naval History of the Rebellion," and Clarke's "Grant and His Campaigns."]



SEVERAL months passed after the battle of Murfreesboro before Rosecrans made any important movement. The government was anxious to strike a blow in Tennessee, and thought Rosecrans ought to drive Bragg into Georgia. Rosecrans wished to wait until the fate of Vicksburg was decided, whereupon Halleck, the commander-in-chief, gave him to understand that the government thought otherwise. Then Rosecrans made a forward movement.

By a series of maneuvers, begun June 24, from Murfreesboro, Bragg was forced out of his position on Duck river, and compelled

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to retreat to Chattanooga, where he fortified himself. This campaign was so important that Burnside was ordered to advance from the Ohio into East Tennessee to the help of Rosecrans. The movements of all the Union forces were much delayed by the continuous rains, which turned the roads into a veritable sea of mud, but finally, August 16, Rosecrans advanced against Chattanooga.

GOOD-BY

Capture of Cumberland Gap

A Confederate brigade holding Cumberland Gap surrendered on the 9th of September without firing a gun. Commanding as it did one of the main roads from Kentucky into Tennessee, the way was thus opened for a Union invasion of East Tennessee or Southwest Virginia, while the line of communication between Richmond and Bragg was broken.

Burnside's delay, resulting from his diversion to capture Cumberland Gap, held back the advance of Rosecrans, and allowed powerful reënforcements to reach Bragg from Virginia and other sources, so

that he became much stronger than the Union commander suspected.

Rosecrans reached the northern bank of the Tennessee opposite Chattanooga, August 20, and two weeks later most of his army crossed. This endangered Bragg's communications, and he withdrew to Lafayette in Georgia, Chattanooga being occupied by a Union corps.

Under the impression that the enemy was much weaker than was the fact, Rosecrans divided his army into three columns, and, with ranges of mountains separating them, advanced carelessly against the foe. Learning this, Bragg decided to adopt the tactics of the great Napoleon and overwhelm each Union division in detail.

GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

General Thomas was encamped at the foot of Lookout Mountain, and General D. H. Hill was directed to attack him; but Hill opposed the plan so vehemently that the task was assigned to General Simon Buckner, who had surrendered Fort Donelson, and to General Hindman. The result showed that Hill was right, for Thomas escaped all danger by withdrawing into the mountain passes, and then joining the other two corps.

It was ordered at the same time that General Polk should attack Crittenden's corps, which was the middle of the three advancing columns; but Polk also failed, and on the 18th of September the three united divisions were on the western bank of the Chickamauga river in Georgia, twelve miles from Chattanooga. The Indian word "Chickamauga" means "River of Death," and the name was fearfully appropriate.

Confederate Failures

Bragg felt himself strong, being aware, too, that Longstreet was approaching with a division from Virginia; he determined to recover

Chattanooga. To prevent being cut off from this town, and with a view of strengthening his left, Rosecrans, on the night of the 18th, moved a large number of his troops from the right to the left. When morning came, the two hostile armies confronted each other in a narrow valley flanked by Mission Ridge and Pigeon Mount, with the Chickamauga flowing between.

Battle of Chickamauga

The Confederates crossed the Chickamauga in search of Rosecrans, who promptly met them by sending forward one of Thomas' brigades against the Confederate right wing. The battle soon became general, and lasted until nightfall, the conflict ending for the time with the advantage on the side of the Confederates.

About midnight, the skillful Longstreet arrived from Virginia with a division of Lee's fire-tried veterans. Assuming command of the left wing, a new disposition was made of the enemy's forces, and it was ordered that the attack on the Union army should be made at daybreak on the following morning. The road to Chattanooga had been captured, and the Union troops driven almost to the foot of Mission Ridge.

Rosecrans knew of the terrific struggle that was coming, and made all possible preparation for it. Following the advice of General Thomas, he began strengthening his left; but before the movement was completed, the Confederates attacked, having from some cause waited until ten o'clock. Rosecrans had thrown up breastworks which the Confederate right wing assaulted again and again with great desperation; but Thomas, who commanded there, handled his troops with such masterly skill that in every instance he hurled back the enemy under Polk, and inflicted great loss.

Defeat of Rosecrans

Rosecrans in person directed the Union right, and Longstreet soon proved himself his master. He drove his division like a wedge between the two wings of the Union army, using the gap created by the removal of the center to strengthen the left. He did this with so much success, and struck so vigorously in both directions, that Rosecrans galloped to Chattanooga in a panic, and telegraphed to Washington that the whole Union army had been routed. He hoped that by hurrying to Chattanooga he should be able to secure his supply-train and the pontoon-bridges over the Tennessee.

Fortunately, at this desperate juncture, Hood, one of the Confederate leaders, was severely wounded, and the advance was delayed until another officer could be brought to take his place. Again Polk

hurled himself against the Union left, commanded by Thomas, who flung him back as the rock tosses the waves of the sea.

"Lie down, Tennesseans, and see Virginians go in!" shouted Bushrod Johnson's brigade, as, flushed with its successes under Lee, it formed to make its first charge up Snodgrass Hill.

"You'll find you ain't fighting eastern bounty-jumpers here," retorted the Tennesseans, who, a few minutes later, yelled, "Rise up, Tennesseans, and see Virginians come out!" as the assailants came rushing down the slope to re-form for another charge. In the space of an hour and a half, on that bloody Sunday afternoon, Longstreet's corps lost nearly forty-four per cent of their number, before the magnificent stand of Thomas, from two o'clock until set of sun. He beat back the splendid charges of Lee's veterans, under his ablest lieutenant. With his right swept away towards Chattanooga, with ammunition gone, and the last cartridges taken from the bodies of their comrades, stretched in front of them, Thomas repelled successively the repeated and desperate charges of Longstreet's brigades, and held his position to the end.

"The Rock of Chickamauga"

Near the Snodgrass House, in which the intrepid Union commander made his headquarters, he silently chewed a toothpick, as report after report of disaster on the right was brought to him. "He was beaten by every rule of war when the North Carolina troops turned his right flank, and he ought to have surrendered. Any European general would have done so," said one of the Confederate leaders.

Well did General George H. Thomas earn that day the grand name of "The Rock of Chickamauga," and when in the coming centuries posterity makes up its final judgment of the ability of the soldiers, in the light of opportunity and conditions, it will show on the immortal Roll of Honor not a single name above that of the heroic figure whose personal character was as spotless as his genius was exalted.

The afternoon of the crimson Sabbath was half gone, when the alert Longstreet saw a gap in the hills behind Thomas, and began racing his column through it; but at the critical moment, Gordon Granger's reserve of three thousand men, who had never been in battle before, swept up the gully back of headquarters, assaulted the Confederates with incredible fury, tumbled them back down the hill, and, with the loss of one man out of every two, extended that thin line of panting fighters on the right, and held the ridge until the battle closed.

Chickamauga was a Confederate victory, for the enemy gained the field and held it. Bragg would have verified the dispatch of Rosecrans, and annihilated the Union army, but for the genius and valor of the Virginian who commanded the Federal left. Grim and defiant as ever, having defeated every assault, he withdrew slowly towards Chattanooga. He was ready for another fight the next morning, but Bragg thought it wise to let him alone.

The Most Stubborn Battle of the War

The record shows that Chickamauga was the most stubbornly contested battle of the Civil War. The percentage of losses was greater than those incurred by the British army in a hundred years, including Waterloo and the Crimea. Thirty regiments, composed of western soldiers, lost ten per cent more men than fell in the "Charge of the Light Brigade." One-third of the troops actually engaged on each side were killed or wounded, and many organizations on both sides came out of the battle with every other man who entered it killed or wounded. The heaviest loss sustained by a German regiment in the Franco-Prussian war was 49.4 per cent. Steedman's and Brannan's commands, which confronted a portion of Longstreet's assault, lost the first forty-nine per cent in four hours, all killed and wounded but one, and the second an average of thirty-eight per cent. Van Derveer's brigade lost within a slight fraction of fifty per cent. Nowhere in the history of the world is better fighting shown.*

Rosecrans Relieved

The government relieved Rosecrans of his command and appointed Thomas his successor. The dissatisfaction with the conduct of the battle caused also the suspension of McCook, Negley, Crittenden, and Van Cleve until full inquiry could be completed.

There was dissatisfaction also on the Confederate side. Because of hesitation in action, President Davis removed Polk, but at the same time complimented him for his past services, and promised him an appointment elsewhere. Longstreet was the hero on the Confederate side. He was eager to follow the retreating Union army, but Bragg would not permit. He was blamed for this; but Jefferson Davis was a man of strong likes and dislikes, and since Bragg was his friend, he refused to remove him.

*The Military National Park, containing the entire area of the battlefields of Chattanooga, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and Lookout Mountain, was dedicated with impressive ceremonies in 1895, on the thirty-second anniversary of the engagements.

Thomas intrenched himself at Chattanooga. Bragg arrived before the town on the 23d, but was afraid to attack, and laid siege to the place. He could not fully cut off the sources of supply, however, because of the activity of the Union cavalry. But the position of the Federal army was so perilous that the gravest anxiety was felt by the government. General Grant was unquestionably the "man of the hour," and he was now made commander of the entire West, which became the Military Division of the Mississippi. Numerous reënforcements were hurried forward, the Eleventh and Twelfth corps under Hooker being transferred from the Army of the Potomac for that purpose. They numbered twenty-three thousand men.

Grant in Chief Command

On the same day that Thomas succeeded Rosecrans, Grant telegraphed him to hold Chattanooga at whatever cost. Thomas replied, "I will do so till we starve."

By and by the Union columns converging for the relief of Chattanooga outnumbered the army of Bragg, who still persisted in the siege. By the close of October, Hooker and the main army were at Bridgeport, Ala., and Thomas tried to open a road along the southern bank of the Tennessee to them. It was difficult to obtain supplies by the roundabout route, but Hooker's arrival at Bridgeport ended the trouble. General W. F. Smith, by order of General Thomas, seized the mouth of Lookout Valley and the neighboring heights, all on the same side of the river with Chattanooga, Hooker crossing to the same side from Bridgeport. Smith did as directed on the night of October 27 without serious opposition.

Siege of Knoxville

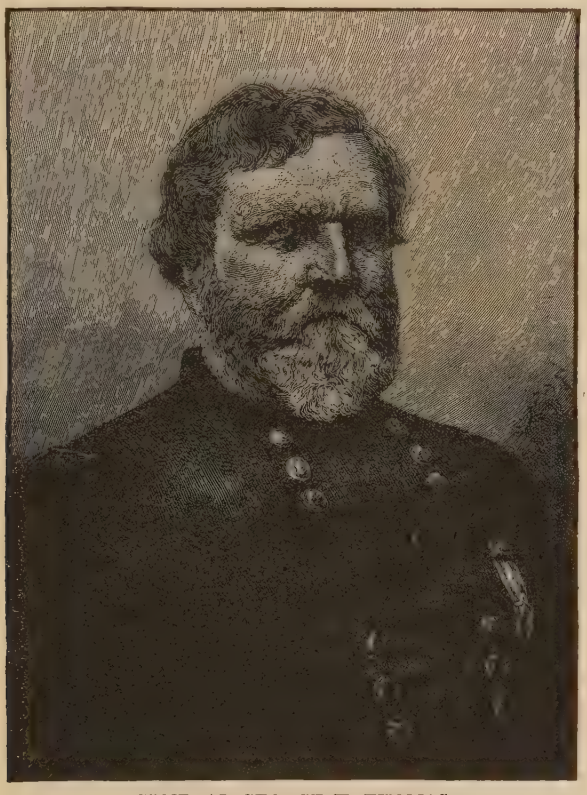
Meanwhile, Burnside, advancing from the Ohio, had taken possession of Knoxville on the 9th of September. Bragg detached Longstreet and sent him against Burnside, thereby weakening the Confederate army that was besieging Chattanooga. General Grant arrived at the latter place, October 20, and telegraphed Burnside to hold Knoxville at all hazards until relieved.

Grant prepared to attack Bragg. By the 23d of November he had a force of eighty thousand men, while Bragg had less than fifty thousand. The Confederate line was twelve miles long, including Lookout Mountain on the south, nearly a half mile high, and Missionary Ridge on the east, not so elevated. These two elevations overlook the valley in which Chattanooga lies. Bragg's right wing rested on Missionary Ridge, and his left on Lookout Mountain, with the Chattanooga flowing between. He deemed this position so impregnable

MISSIONARY RIDGE FROM ORCHARD KNOB

that on the 20th of November he notified Grant to remove all non-combatants, as he intended to bombard the town. Grant read the dispatch, smiled, and filed it away for future reference.

The Confederate picket-line was driven back on the night of the 23d, and several strong positions secured. Hooker crossed the river, and established himself at the mouth of Lookout creek in a position



GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS

fronting the mountain. The following morning, in the midst of a heavy fog, he advanced against the Confederate position on Lookout Mountain. He intended to stop after carrying the rifle-pits among the foothills, but his men were so full of ardor that Hooker ordered a general charge. Up the slope dashed the heroes in a whirlwind of enthusiasm, and soon Lookout Mountain swarmed with blue uniforms. Old Glory fluttered from the crest, and the Confederates ran for Missionary Ridge, leaving two thousand prisoners behind.

Battle of Lookout Mountain

The fog through which the Union troops had charged was now below them, from which fact the struggle is popularly known as "the Battle above the Clouds."

When the fog cleared on the morning of the 25th, a forest of gleaming muskets showed where Sherman was advancing against the extreme Confederate right, near Chickamauga station. The enemy opened with artillery, but the unwavering Union troops kept straight on to the foot of the ridge. A hot musketry fire now succeeded the cannonade. The Union attack on the Confederate right wing, at the end of an hour, was repulsed. Grant ordered it renewed, but a more bloody repulse followed. Then a general movement was directed against the left center of the enemy. A furious resistance was encountered, but a whole division gave way, and being pressed hard, fled in disorder toward Ringgold, southeast of the Confederate position, losing a large number of prisoners. Hooker pursued, and on the 26th the enemy was driven out of Ringgold and took position on Taylor's Ridge, where they were too strong to be attacked.

STATUE OF GENERAL THOMAS

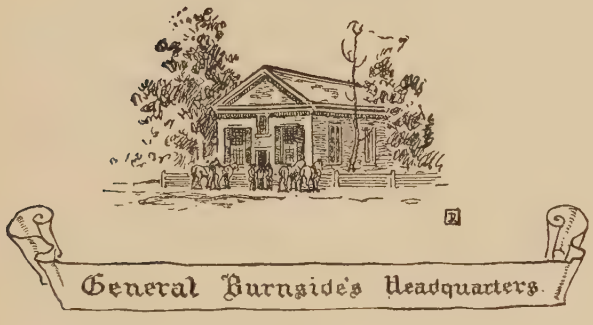
A Brilliant Union Victory

Bragg's incompetency was so evident that President Davis was obliged to remove him. His successor was General Hardee, who had made so valiant and successful a defense of the Confederate right wing at Missionary Ridge.

At Knoxville, eighty-four miles from Chattanooga, General Burnside and the Union army were in danger of starvation. Behind the fortifications among the hills, extending around the town, were about fifteen thousand infantry and artillery, with some cavalry. Knoxville was invested by Longstreet, November 17, and the next day he captured one of the principal outworks. Knowing that Grant would speedily send relief, after the defeat of Bragg, Longstreet made a general assault on the morning of the 29th. His troops fought

determinedly, but the task they had attempted was an impossible one, and they suffered a disastrous repulse.

Meanwhile, Sherman, by rebuilding destroyed bridges and pressing forward with all energy, was near Knoxville by December 5. Longstreet had received some additional troops, but he was too weak to fight the combined Union forces, and he withdrew in the direction of Virginia. Sherman returned to Chattanooga, and Burnside, whose health was bad, was recalled at his own request, and was succeeded by General Foster from the department of North Carolina. Military operations were virtually ended in Tennessee.



General Burnside's Headquarters.

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From the Original Painting by Warren Sheppard

BATTLE OFF CHARLESTON

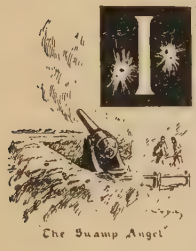
The New Ironsides

CHAPTER XIII

EVENTS OF 1863 (CONTINUED)

ON THE COAST AND OCEAN

[*Author's Note:* The long-time hostility of England toward this country was never more strikingly shown than during the period of our Civil War. The following chapter contains a good illustration of this hostility in the account of the fitting out in an English port of the privateer *Oreto*, afterward called *Florida*. She was, to all intents and purposes, an English vessel, manned by an English crew, and designed to prey upon American commerce. The authorities for this period are those already cited. An interesting account of Rear-Admiral Du Pont can be found in Headley's "Farragut and Our Naval Commanders."]


The Swamp Angel

IN giving an account of the coast and naval operations of this year, an exploit of the Confederates must not be forgotten.

Galveston, like all the other seaports of the South, was blockaded by the Union fleet. General Magruder, after collecting artillery at Houston, occupied with a strong force the works erected opposite the island on which Galveston stands. Two steam packets were converted into gunboats, and strong bulwarks of cotton-bales made them shot-proof. The two were manned by Texan cavalry. They steamed up and engaged the Union gunboat *Harriet Lane*, while the troops were marching over the long railway bridge that connects the island with the mainland. The *Harriet Lane* drove off one of the gunboats, but the other ran alongside, and under a brisk rifle fire the Texans leaped aboard the *Harriet Lane* and killed Captain Wainwright, her commander, and most of the Union crew. The *Westfield* tried to go to the help of the *Harriet*

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Lane, but could not do so, and was blown up by her commander, who was killed with some of his men. The land forces quickly obtained possession of the town, but the Union troops, having no artillery, surrendered. The blockade was raised, and the Confederates retained possession of Texas until the close of the war.

England's Duplicity

It has been shown that England, in her yearning to see the Union destroyed, violated every honorable obligation to our country. She was afraid to recognize the Southern Confederacy, because of the consequences in case it failed to gain its independence.

The Confederates had every temptation to launch their privateers and send them out on the high seas, where they had everything to gain, with little danger of losing anything. No matter upon what ocean they entered, they were sure to come upon numbers of unarmed merchantmen that could neither defend themselves nor run away. So long as the Confederacy was not recognized as a distinct nation by the other governments, its privateers could not take their prizes into any port to sell them; so the captors generally robbed the merchantmen of everything worth taking and then burned the ships.

These privateers would have had a hard time in fitting out and getting to sea but for the help of England. Charles Francis Adams was our minister to that country, and the war was hardly under way when he learned that several ships intended for Confederate privateers were building in the Liverpool ship-yards. In April, 1862, he appealed to Earl Russell regarding a steam corvette called the *Oreto*, whose name was afterwards changed to the *Florida*. The ship was nearly finished, and the British government promised to look into the matter.

The Oreto

When ready, the *Oreto* sailed for Nassau, in the Bahamas, and was there seized by the British steamer *Greyhound*, but was speedily released. The meaningless formality was repeated several times, and then the *Oreto* was let go altogether. In September she appeared off Mobile harbor flying the English flag. Commander Preble, of the Union blockading fleet, because of the trouble with the *Trent*, had been cautioned about giving England cause for offense, and he hesitated to fire upon the craft without more definite knowledge of her. Several other vessels fired into her, but inflicted no damage, and she entered Mobile with her valuable cargo. Preble was dismissed from the service for his remissness. The *Oreto* received her armament and came out again, December 27, under command of Captain J. N.

Maffit, an Irishman formerly connected with the United States navy. She inflicted immense damage upon Northern shipping in the course of her long and adventurous career. The *Florida* flew the Confederate flag a good while after the Confederacy ceased to exist. Her story is so remarkable that it will be told in another place.

The *Sumter* was so hard pressed by the United States steamer *Tuscarora* that she ran into Gibraltar and could not get out again. Captain Semmes, her commander, sold her and went to England for another ship. The one built for him was the *Alabama*, the most famous privateer that ever sailed under the Confederate flag. Of her, too, the full story shall be told elsewhere. The fact of her building was so notorious that the British government had to make a pretense of preventing the open violation of the laws of neutrality. The usual English inquiry was set on foot, and orders were sent to prevent her sailing. These orders were held back until July 29, 1862, and then allowed to go to Birkenhead. The *Alabama* had sailed the day before, and the English authorities knew it. If necessary, they would have delayed the orders a month longer, so as to make sure that no harm was done the Confederacy.

Building of the Alabama

Before studying the most important campaign of all—that in the East—a number of facts bearing upon the war should be told. The demand for men in the North was so great that the large bounties offered for volunteers failed to bring forward all that were needed, and the government passed a conscription act, which obliged each state to furnish a certain number of soldiers to be selected by lot from among its citizens. The enforcement of this act caused a fearful riot in New York City, July 12. It raged for four days, and during a part of that time the city was in the possession of a mob, which committed horrible atrocities. Wherever a negro was seen he was beaten to death, hanged, or mutilated. The Colored Orphan Asylum was set on fire, and Colonel O'Brien, of the militia, was murdered and his body dragged through the streets. Governor Seymour declared martial law on the 14th, but it was not until the 16th, after the government had sent a large military force to the city, that order was restored. Many hundred people were killed during those four dreadful days.

Draft Riots in New York

Similar outbreaks in Boston and in Portsmouth, N. H., were suppressed by the military, but the drafts were enforced everywhere.

The Confederates had a heavily armed war-steamer, the *Nashville*,

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in the Ogeechee river, Ga., watching for a chance to slip out and run the blockade with her cargo of cotton. The channel was so obstructed with torpedoes, and Fort McAllister, at the entrance to the river, was so formidable, that no Union vessel dared attempt to go up the stream after the *Nashville*; but on the night of February 27, Captain Worden, commanding the ironclad *Montauk*, saw the *Nashville* aground above Fort McAllister. The following morning Captain Worden braved a hot fire from the fort, and with his shot succeeded in setting the *Nashville* in flames and exploding her magazine, which ended the career of the dangerous craft.

ADMIRAL SAMUEL F. DU PONT

Since Charleston was the cradle of secession, where the fiery disunionists had set up an independent government and declared that they would die in the last ditch before surrendering, the desire to humble her pride was strong in the North. Knowing that every possible attempt would be made to do so, General Beauregard had strengthened the defenses, urged the withdrawal of all non-combatants, and called upon the people of the state to aid in the defense of the city. A Union fleet of ironclads guarded Charleston. One dark night in January, Captain Ingraham ran out with a couple of rams, scattered the ironclads, and compelled a Union gunboat to surrender. Then the Confederates proclaimed that the blockade had been raised; but the claim amounted to nothing.

Expedition Against Charleston

The ironclads built for the Atlantic blockade having arrived, Admiral Du Pont, in obedience to orders from Washington, attacked Charleston April 7. The ironclads formed a line of battle with the *Weehawken*, Captain John Rodgers, in the lead. A cumbrous "torpedo catcher," in the shape of a raft, was fastened to the front of the

Weehawken, and so delayed the advance of the fleet that it was near three o'clock before the vessels came within range of Fort Moultrie. The *Weehawken*, under a terrific cross-fire, ran close to the rope obstructions between Forts Sumter and Moultrie and exploded a torpedo under her bow, which inflicted only slight injury. Observing what seemed to be other torpedoes directly ahead, Captain Rodgers turned back, maintaining a heavy fire all the time.

Attack on Charleston

The vessels behind the *Weehawken* received the same destructive fire, the *Keokuk* being struck ninety times in the course of half an hour. Her turrets were riddled, and nineteen shots pierced her hull at the water line. Commander Rhind steamed out of range, and the next morning the *Keokuk* sank off Morris Island.

The *New Ironsides* had a remarkable escape. She was caught in the tideway, while trying to turn, refused to obey her rudder, and becoming entangled with two other ironclads, the three lay in a deadlock for a quarter of an hour. All this time there was a boiler-iron torpedo directly under the *New Ironsides*. It contained a ton of powder, enough to sink the huge ironclad. The Confederates made every effort to explode the machine, but from some unaccountable cause it refused to work. When the operator was in personal danger from suspected treachery, it was found that a passing ordnance wagon had cut one of the wires in two. That little incident saved the *New Ironsides*, for when the cause was discovered the craft had withdrawn from its perilous position.

While the ironclads were ranged off the northeast front of Fort Sumter, always less than half a mile distant, they were in direct range of three hundred guns of immense power, and all fired with the precision acquired by practice in preparation for precisely such an attack. It was so clear that this could not succeed that Admiral Du Pont signaled the ironclads to withdraw. On the 12th of April, the fleet, with the exception of the *New Ironsides*, returned to Port Royal.

Failure of the Attack

The failure of this attack was a great disappointment to President Lincoln. He ordered Admiral Du Pont to hold his position inside Charleston bar, or, if he had abandoned it, to go back without delay. He was instructed not to allow the enemy to put up new defenses on Morris Island. Admiral Du Pont's reply dwelt so much on the risk involved in this course, that in July he was superseded by Rear-Admiral J. A. B. Dahlgren, and preparations were made for a combined land and naval attack on Charleston.

The plan was for a military force to seize Morris Island and from that base bombard Fort Sumter, while Dahlgren aided with his fleet, which it was hoped might pass the batteries and reach the city. A strong force was brought together on Folly Island, south of Morris Island, and several batteries were erected among the woods. Covered by them, General Strong with two thousand men, July 10, drove out General Ripley and a body of infantry from the southern point of Morris Island and compelled them to take refuge in Fort Wagner at the farther end.

GENERAL QUINCY A. GILLMORE

The weather was oppressively hot, and operations were deferred until the next day. Fort Wagner was so strongly reënforced during the night that it repulsed the Union attack and inflicted severe loss. General Quincy A. Gillmore, who had captured Fort Pulaski in March of the previous year, was in charge of the land forces, and he proceeded against Fort Wagner by erecting opposing land batteries to assist the monitors, which shelled the Confederate works on the 11th and 12th.

A Naval and Land Attack

On the 18th, another naval and land attack was made on Fort Wagner, the vessels firing with great accuracy. Running in with the flood tide to within three hundred yards of the fort, they silenced its guns. In the midst of a terrific thunderstorm, the Federals made a desperate assault, but were driven back with severe loss, General Strong being wounded and many of his officers killed. The first brigade in the advance was led by a negro regiment, which displayed great gallantry.

General Gillmore pressed the siege against Fort Wagner in the

FORT SUMTER AFTER ITS REDUCTION BY GENERAL GILLMORE

regular way, but since the fort was easily accessible from Charleston, it was furnished with the best guns, and the garrison was reënforced and relieved at stated intervals.

On August 17, Gillmore began firing over Fort Wagner at Fort Sumter, three miles distant. Forts Wagner, Gregg, and Sumter were heavily bombarded by the flagship *Weehawken*, *Catskill*, *Nahant*, *Montauk*, and *New Ironsides*, which ran in within a quarter of a mile of the enemy's batteries, the gunboats maintaining fire at a greater distance. In the course of two hours Fort Wagner was silenced, but the heat became intolerable, and the ironclads were forced to cease work. Returning toward evening, it was found that the garrison had repaired the injuries to the fort and were ready for another attack.

Fort Wagner Silenced

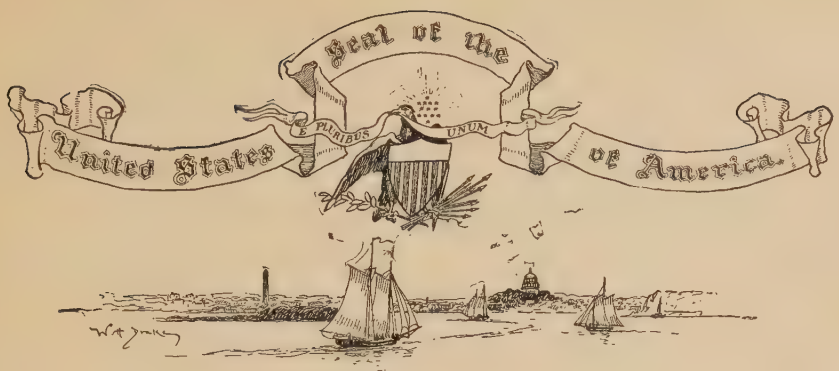
The bombardment was maintained until the 21st, by which time the southern wall of Fort Sumter was in ruins. The loss of the garrison, however, was slight. Forts Wagner and Gregg had suffered little, and the inner line of defenses extending across James Island towards Sullivan's Island seemed to be impregnable.

Gillmore demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter, and of the works on Morris Island, under a threat of bombardment of the city in the case of refusal. Beauregard was absent from Charleston, and, before he could return and make reply, Gillmore fired his first shot a little past midnight, August 22. It threw the inhabitants into consternation, many rushing into the streets, and others fleeing into the country. Beauregard sent an indignant remonstrance to Gillmore, declaring that among all civilized nations due notice of such intention was given, that the non-combatants might be removed. Gillmore made explanation of his action, and agreed to wait until eleven o'clock on the night of the 23d before renewing the bombardment. It began again at the time named, the principal gun being an immense Parrott christened the "Swamp Angel," which carried a one-hundred-and-fifty pound ball. The piece exploded, however, on the thirty-sixth round, which was a lucky thing for the city of Charleston.

The "Swamp Angel"

The rifle-pits of Fort Wagner were carried August 26, and another parallel was completed within seven hundred feet of the main work. The bombardment was renewed September 5, and continued steadily for forty-two hours. On the following night the Confederates, finding their position untenable, evacuated the fort.

PONTOON BRIDGE—FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH



The City of Washington and the Potomac River

CHAPTER XIV

EVENTS OF 1863—IN THE EAST

[*Author's Note:* One of the most interesting and picturesque characters developed by the Civil War figures in this chapter, Thomas J. Jackson, commonly known as "Stonewall" Jackson. He was a man of religious convictions so deep and earnest that many looked upon him as a fanatic. His generalship was of the best type, and his influence over the men he commanded was unexampled. He had—

"The god-like power, the art Napoleon,
Of winning, moulding, fettering, binding
The hearts of millions, that they move as one."

Mr. Greeley, in his "American Conflict," says:

"His loss was the greatest yet sustained by either party in the fall of a single man. Jackson's power over his men was justified by the soundness of his judgment and by the intrepidity of his character. His attacks were all well considered, and based on a careful calculation of forces. It is doubtful if all the advantages, including prestige, which the Confederates gained around Chancellorsville, were not dearly purchased by the loss of Thomas J. Jackson."

See Darney's "Life of T. J. Jackson," and a "Life of T. J. Jackson" in "Southern Generals."]

Union Breastworks

HAVING traced campaigns and military movements elsewhere from the opening to the close of the year, we must do the same with the most important campaign of all—that in the East between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee.

Going back, therefore, to the terrible Union reverse at Fredericksburg at the close of 1862, it will be understood that Burnside could not retain the command after having lost the confidence of his subordinates and of the government. Burnside felt keenly his humiliation, and began planning a new cam-

paign by which he hoped to regain his lost prestige and to inspire confidence in his leadership.

A previous order to march having been countermanded, the Army of the Potomac made preparations for another advance on the 16th of January, 1863. At dusk the pontoons were brought from Belle Plain and placed in position in the Rappahannock, the intention of Burnside being to cross the stream several miles farther up, and to attack Lee on his left flank.

OLD WILDERNESS CHURCH, CHANCELLORSVILLE, VA.

The next day, however, the order was postponed until the 20th, when Generals Hooker, Franklin, and Sigel moved up the river towards the fords, where they meant to cross to the other side. It was in the depth of winter and a furious storm raged, drenching the soldiers and transforming the roads into a sea of mud, through which it was almost impossible for horses and men to force their way.

Burnside Superseded by Hooker

The tempest continued until the 23d, by which time all hope of surprising the Confederates had gone, and the expedition was abandoned. President Lincoln saw that it would be disastrous to continue Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac, and he was relieved. On the 26th of January, Burnside issued an address to the army, notifying the several divisions that by order of the President the command was transferred to General Joseph Hooker. The retiring commander complimented his soldiers on their courage,

patience, and endurance, and bespoke for his successor the cheerful and zealous co-operation of every officer and soldier in the army. The formal transfer was accompanied by expressions of good will on the part of the retiring commander and of his successor, but it is well known that there was anything but a feeling of friendship between Burnside and Hooker.

A New Campaign

For a short time General Meade commanded the Center Grand Division of the army, but he was now continued in command of the Fifth corps. "Fighting Jo" Hooker began at once to make preparations for a new campaign against Richmond. The condition of the army required thorough reorganization and the hardest kind of work to qualify it for any effective aggressive movement.

In the spring of 1863, Richmond was threatened by General Foster, operating from North Carolina, by General Peck from southeastern Virginia, and by General Key from the neighborhood of the Pamunkey. This compelled Lee to divide his forces, so that the numbers at his command were less than those the Unionists could bring against him.

Hooker's plan was to attack in two places. By crossing the Rappahannock and Rapidan west of Fredericksburg, he would fall upon the left wing of the Confederates, his own left wing occupying the heights above the city, and seizing the Richmond railway. The cavalry were to pass to the rear of Lee's position, cut off his retreat to Richmond, and destroy the railway lines and the bridges over the North and South Anna rivers.

Advance of the Army of the Potomac

The march of the Army of the Potomac was begun on the 27th of April. The passage of the Rappahannock took place on the 29th, opposite Kelly's Ford, over the pontoon bridges, without opposition.

The Fifth corps left camp at Stoneman's Station, early on the afternoon of the 27th, marching by way of Kelly's and Ely's Fords to Chancellorsville, where it arrived on the forenoon of the 30th, having marched fifty miles in less than three days. This was inclusive of the halts, one of which was a half day near Kelly's Ford, while the bridge was building. Two rivers were crossed, and most of the time the rain descended in torrents. The Rapidan was forded by the Fifth corps, with its artillery and trains, through water four feet deep.

The Rapidan having been crossed, the Union troops entered the wild country known as the "Wilderness," covered with woods and

intersected by numerous small streams. Encamping near Chancellorsville, they were joined by two more corps that had crossed other fords. General Sedgwick, at the same time, passed the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg, so that Lee was uncertain from what direction he was to be attacked.

It was not long, however, before the Confederate commander saw that the main battle would be at Chancellorsville. On the night of

BATTLEFIELD OF CHANCELLORSVILLE

April 30, therefore, he massed most of his divisions on the roads leading from Fredericksburg to that town.

The Union cavalry had already captured and destroyed a part of the Richmond railway, so that the retreat of the Confederates was endangered, should they find it necessary to retreat.

Preliminary Movements

There was some cavalry skirmishing on the night of the 30th, which was indecisive. The next morning Hooker ordered an advance from the vicinity of Chancellorsville towards Fredericksburg, but learning that the Confederate army was moving against him, he withdrew to a line of earthworks and felled trees, that he had hurriedly thrown up in the woods, and which were strengthened during the night. He faced the east, Fredericksburg being his objective point, and his aim was naturally to force Lee into fighting upon ground of Hooker's own choosing.

The Union commander was trying to flank his opponent, who

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Hooker at Chancellorsville. May 3. 1863.

attempted in turn to outflank him. Accordingly, Stonewall Jackson was sent with his corps around the right rear of the Union army, while Lee with the rest of his forces kept the Federals engaged in his front.

Lee's Feints

Lee's feigned attacks in front led Hooker to think that the Confederates were in force before him, and feeling that he ought to be supported by most of his troops, he ordered Reynolds with his division to cross the Rappahannock and unite with the main army near Chancellorsville. It was while this movement was under way that Stonewall Jackson began his flank march.

Setting out on the night of May 1, Jackson took with him three divisions, numbering twenty-five thousand men, and commanded by Generals A. P. Hill, Coulson, and Rodes. The dense forests were of great help to him, and he was seen only once by the Unionists, who even then did not suspect the meaning of the startling movement. A few shells were sent in his direction, and he was allowed to pass.

On the morning of May 2, Jackson and his men pushed forward, while Lee continued pounding in front of Hooker, so as to keep his attention diverted from what was taking place on his right flank and rear.

On the afternoon of the 2d, Jackson reached the road from Orange to Fredericksburg, south of the Rapidan. Deploying his columns, he burst like a tornado upon the right wing and swept everything before him.

Howard's Corps Stampeded

It was about five o'clock in the afternoon, when General Howard's corps, which was bivouacking in the woods, with no thought of danger, received the terrific charge of the Confederates. The Union divisions scattered in a panic, nearly the entire Eleventh corps being driven towards Chancellorsville.

More than one desperate attempt was made to rally the fugitives, Hooker and his staff dashing upon the field and doing their utmost to restore confidence. But Lee now increased the vigor of his attack in front, and many in the Union army felt that it was in greater danger of annihilation than ever before.

The German division of Howard's corps, commanded by General Carl Schurz, showed the wildest panic, but the reserve under General Sickles fought bravely. Sickles, his staff, and some cavalry of General Pleasonton, posted themselves near a stone wall in the line of

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FATAL WOUNDING OF STONEWALL JACKSON

retreat, and interposed themselves across the line of flight of the fugitives. They succeeded in rallying a part of the artillery, but nothing could check the flight of the infantry. General Berry, while striving to save the honor of the army, was killed, but though Howard and Hooker did their utmost, it was not until dark that a semblance of order was established among the shattered forces.

A Union Reverse

Once more the Union guns were turned upon the enemy, whose pursuit was checked, but the Federals had met with a serious reverse, and apprehensions prevailed of still greater disasters to come.

At this juncture, when ruin of the Union army impended, the Southern Confederacy received a blow as unexpected as it was startling. Quite early in the evening, Stonewall Jackson rode out with several of his staff, to gain more accurate knowledge of the Union lines. In his anxiety to acquire the information, and inspired by the belief that the destruction of the Federal army was certain, he rode perhaps a hundred and fifty yards in front of his advance skirmishers. There he stayed some time, trying to make out through the gloom the position of the enemy. Finally he and his staff wheeled about to ride back to their own lines. At that moment the party was mistaken by a South Carolina regiment for Union cavalry, and a volley was fired into it. One of the staff was killed and two others wounded, Jackson being one of the latter. His hurt was a severe one, a bullet entering his left arm below the shoulder, shattering the bone to the elbow, and causing intense pain. With difficulty Jackson saved himself from falling from his horse, and several of his companions helped him to the ground, while his aide-de-camp galloped off to General A. P. Hill with the news of the misfortune.

Jackson Mortally Wounded

Hill hurried to the spot and began cutting the cloth of Jackson's sleeve, when four Union officers appeared on horseback and were fired upon by the Confederates. The advance skirmishers of Berry's division soon appeared, and the Confederate officers to escape capture were obliged to retreat.

By another mischance they were mistaken for Federals by their own men and once more fired upon. Some of the staff officers were killed and some wounded, among the latter being one of the litter-bearers carrying Jackson. He fell to the ground, and for several minutes the party lay within the line of Federal skirmishers, who, however, did not recognize the Confederate leader, and were soon driven back.

Period VI — The War for the Union 1861 to 1865 —

During that interval of suffering, Jackson was again struck by two Confederate bullets. "All my wounds are by my own men," he is said to have mournfully remarked, as he was carried to the rear. Jackson's arm was amputated, but his strength was unequal to the operation, and he died on the 10th of May.

Stonewall Jackson was less than forty years of age when thus cut off. He was one of the remarkable men of the war. He was fearless in battle, with great military genius, and was controlled by

WHERE JACKSON FELL

Stonewall Jackson

intense religious convictions. He was the idol of his soldiers and was feared by the Union troops. When General Lee learned of his being wounded, he said, "Had I been able to dictate events, most gladly would I have been disabled in my own person, if he had been spared."

One of the interesting "exhibits" at the New Orleans Exposition of 1884-85 was the sorrel horse of Stonewall Jackson. The horse was then upwards of thirty years of age, and never wore a saddle after the war. During most of that period he had been in the care of Mrs. Jackson's brother in North Carolina. She gave the animal to the Virginia Military Institute, where he was cared for and allowed to wander at will over the grounds. A member of Jackson's staff states that "Little Sorrel" was originally a Unionist, and became a Confederate through the force of circumstances. In the spring of 1861, when Major Jackson had taken command at Harper's Ferry,

a number of horses were captured on a train from the North, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. Jackson asked his quartermaster to select one for him from the lot, and "Little Sorrel" was picked out. Jackson ordered that the trader who had the animals should be paid for the horse in United States money. The horse was of medium size, easily kept, and had a long, lubberly pace. He soon evinced great powers of endurance, and was used by Jackson in all his active service. He rode "Little Sorrel" at the battles of Manassas, Kernstown, McDowell, Winchester, Port Republic, Cross Keys, Chickahominy, Cedar Mountain, Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, Harper's Ferry, Fredericksburg, and at Chancellorsville, where Jackson fell from his back mortally wounded. At that time the horse escaped into the Federal lines, but in a subsequent charge was re-captured by General J. E. B. Stuart.

HOUSE IN WHICH JACKSON DIED

The battle of Chancellorsville was resumed on Sunday morning, May 3. Hooker had rearranged his corps so that they held the triangle of ground reaching from the lower part of the Rapidan to Chancellorsville and thence to the United States Ford on the Rappahannock. By this arrangement he presented two fronts, at right angles, the point of meeting being before Chancellorsville.

Renewal of the Battle

The Aim of Lee

Converging a number of guns upon this spot, Lee set fire to the building at the cross-roads, where General Hooker had his head-quarters. The purpose of the Confederate leader was to push the Unionists back towards the rivers, and thus deprive them of their vantage-ground. General Stuart, now commanding Jackson's corps, opened the attack, but was received with so fierce a fire that his men recoiled. General Rodes, however, rallied them, and in turn they pressed the Unionists with so much vigor that they fell back towards Chancellorsville. In another part of the field, General Slocum's strongly fortified position was assailed with great spirit. After a severe struggle the Union troops were driven out of the first defenses and forced to take refuge behind a second line of breast-works, in the rear of Chancellorsville. During the forenoon the Unionists were obliged to retreat a mile towards the river, and Hooker was compelled to throw up in great haste a second line of intrenchments. Lee forebore from further attack, and gave his attention to Fredericksburg, where important events were in progress.

At Fredericksburg

It will be recalled that when the Unionists began their movement to the south of the Rappahannock, General Sedgwick crossed below Fredericksburg, so as to divert a part of the Confederate army. He had twenty-five thousand men, after sending away a number of reënforcements to Hooker, and before long Sedgwick discovered that Lee had vacated all his works, except Marye's Heights, and had hurried off to meet Hooker at Chancellorsville. The Confederate garrison was so small and weak that it could have been driven out, but Sedgwick made no attempt to aid his chief until the evening of the 2d of May.

When at last he set out, his movements were tardy. Hardly four miles separated him from the two Mississippi regiments which held Marye's Heights, but it was not until noon on the 3d that he came in sight of them. The works were then carried with a loss of about a thousand in killed and wounded, and towards dusk Sedgwick sent one of his columns four miles in the direction of Chancellorsville.

A Union Check

News had been carried to Lee of the capture of Marye's Heights, and McLaws was sent to check the advance of the Union column, which was stopped at Salem church by breastworks hastily thrown up. An attempt to carry the position was repulsed with severe loss.

The next morning the battle was renewed, but with so little vigor on the part of the Unionists that McLaws, having been reënforced

Gen. Robt. E. Lee at Fredericksburg. Dec. 13. 1862.

by Early, easily defeated them. Not only that, but they were outflanked by the Confederates, who recaptured Marye's Heights and took a Union convoy. Fearful that his communications with Fredericksburg might be cut off, Sedgwick hurriedly retreated towards Bank's Ford, abandoning numerous supply-wagons, mules, and horses.

Having defeated Sedgwick, whose advance threatened his rear, Lee once more faced Hooker. On the morning of May 5, large guns

ROOM IN WHICH JACKSON DIED

were planted so as to command the United States Ford, and a number of shells were dropped among the wagons drawn up in that locality, but the movements of the day were not important. Rain began, and the waters of the Rappahannock and Rapidan rose so fast that they threatened the bridges at the United States Ford, which were the only way of retreat for the Union army.

Retreat of the Union Army

But one course could save the Army of the Potomac, and that was to retreat across the river without delay. Preparations were begun that evening. The storm, accompanied by thunder, helped to mask the movements of the army, and the noise of the wheels was dead-

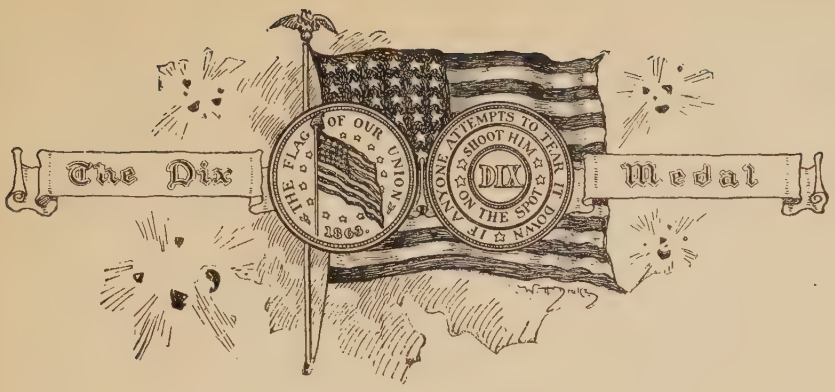
ened by covering the bridges with layers of pine boughs. At daybreak, on the morning of the 6th, the whole army was safe on the left bank of the Rappahannock and began to march to its late camps at Falmouth.

The Union losses in these engagements amounted in killed, wounded, and prisoners to seventeen thousand, that of the Confederates being about two-thirds as great. Another disastrous campaign for the Union cause was thus brought to a close.

General Hooker remained quiet for several weeks after his repulse, and the Confederates used the time to recover from their fatigue and to reorganize for the new campaign that was soon to be under way.

In the latter part of May rumors reached the Union army that the enemy was about to undertake a new movement, but these rumors were not generally believed. The army of Lee had been strengthened by the arrival from North Carolina of two divisions under General Longstreet, and close observers of affairs were certain that momentous events were at hand.

Richmond, Va.



CHAPTER XV

EVENTS OF 1863 (CONTINUED)

IN THE EAST

THE SECOND CONFEDERATE INVASION

[*Author's Note:* In tracing the course of events during the Civil War it is pathetic to note how the confidence of the people of the North was placed in one general after another, and how, one by one, they failed to realize public expectations, and were, one by one, displaced for some other incompetent. First we have McClellan, the modern Fabius, with his extreme caution and do-nothing tactics. When the patience of the nation has been exhausted, he is superseded by Burnside, in whom the people reposed confidence because he had distinguished himself at Antietam. He, in turn, fails to show the qualities required in the leader of a great army. Burnside, failing, is displaced by "Fighting Jo" Hooker. He, with an army of more than one hundred thousand men, demonstrates at Chancellorsville his inability to handle an army properly. The loss in that battle of more than ten thousand in killed and wounded was only a part of the price the North had to pay in order to learn that not yet had the right man been found. In addition to the special references cited for the preceding chapter, the Comte de Paris' "History of the Civil War" should be included.]

Union Soldiers' Monument

DURING the summer of 1863 the little town of Gettysburg, Pa., became the battle-ground of the most fateful conflict of modern times. It was there that the Southern Confederacy and the American Union finally grappled in their life and death struggle, and the future of America was decided for the ages to come.

The soldiers with which General Lee invaded Pennsylvania were the flower of the Confederate army. They were veterans of many battles, and were led by experienced officers. They were inspired by victory and the hope of greater victories still to come. The magnificent Army of the Potomac was their equal in

bravery, as it had proven on many a crimson field, but its leadership had been characterized in some cases by an imbecility that would have destroyed any similar organization elsewhere.

The government and leaders of the Confederacy had strained every nerve to bring the Army of Northern Virginia to the highest effective point. The veteran Longstreet, as has been stated, brought his two divisions from North Carolina, and the troops were disciplined and reorganized. The army numbered 80,000 men, of which 68,352 were infantry. It was divided into three corps, each consisting of three divisions, with Longstreet commanding the First, Ewell the Second, and A. P. Hill the Third corps, each officer being a lieutenant-general. The reorganized artillery included fifteen battalions of four batteries of four pieces each, all under the direction of General Pendleton. Five battalions were assigned to each of the three army corps, three being specially attached, while the other two formed a reserve. The light artillery of Stuart's cavalry division was composed of five mounted batteries of six pieces each.

GENERAL JAMES LONGSTREET

The Army of Northern Virginia

The cavalry under Stuart had also been strengthened, and was at Culpeper, watching the right wing of the Union army along the Rappahannock and threatening its lines of communication. At the same time it also covered the roads over which the Confederate army would advance in case of a Northern invasion.

The northward march having been decided upon, Lee advanced along the Shenandoah Valley, in the rear of the Blue Ridge Moun-

tains. This compelled him to turn the right wing of Hooker, a dangerous and difficult task, for it necessitated the detention of the Federals before Fredericksburg, which could be done only by the display of a strong body of troops, while Lee was pushing to the banks of the Shenandoah. The success of Lee's movement required the utmost secrecy on his part.

The Confederate Advance

Just one month after the bloody struggle in the Wilderness, McLaws with Longstreet's First division marched into that gloomy section with another division. Hood with the Third was on the shores of the Rapidan, and at night, on the 7th, the whole army corps was in the vicinity of Culpeper Court House.

A part of Ewell's corps had gone in the same direction three days before, the rest following the next day, so that Hill's corps was left alone to hold the positions from Taylor's Hill to Hamilton's Crossing, and to hide the movement of the main army.

When the vastness of the campaign is borne in mind, it seems strange that Lee could have been successful in concealing his purpose. That he partially succeeded was a great achievement.

The Army of the Potomac was about equal to that of the Confederates in point of numbers. Hooker was vigilant, and it may be said there was something in the air foreshadowing great events. The Union general suspected that Lee would repeat his campaign of the preceding year, crossing the Rappahannock near its source and marching to Manassas. It was not, however, until the 4th of June that Hooker became convinced that a serious movement was under way, and that it was high time for him to do something.

Hooker's Movements

Accordingly, on the following morning two pontoon bridges were thrown across the Rappahannock at Franklin's Crossing, and the Sixth corps was held in readiness to pass to the other side. General Hooker reasoned that the right thing to do was to attack Lee's weakened lines, for, if the Confederate leader had not as yet fully started, no surer means could be taken for stopping him, and, if the advance of his army had gone far, it would be easy to crush the remaining corps, which constituted one-third of his army.

It was an excellent plan, but the Washington authorities interfered. The capture of the national capital was the ever-present dread that hovered over the government during the early years of the war. Hooker was ordered to cover Harper's Ferry, a post of no strategic importance, which nevertheless was strongly fortified and

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

could have been made secure by the troops under Milroy at Winchester, and by troops from the lower part of the valley of Virginia. Hooker's request to be allowed to act independently was refused, as was his counsel that all the forces to operate against Lee should be combined in one command. General Halleck could not admit that his supreme direction of affairs from Washington was not indispensable to the success of the great campaign about to open.

GENERAL ALFRED N. PLEASONTON

On the morning of June 6, Howe's division crossed the Rappahannock. Lee immediately advanced a part of Hill's corps to meet the movement, but did not recall Ewell, who had been marching since the day before, for as yet the necessity for doing so did not appear. Before he was able to learn whether the entire Confederate army, or only a portion of it, was in front of him, Hooker checked Howe on seeing Hill's display. This relieved Lee of all fear, and he made ready to follow Longstreet, directing Hill to do the same as soon as the Unionists were forced from the Rappahannock.

A Union Reconnaissance

Simultaneous with Howe's crossing of the river, a strong cavalry reconnaissance was sent towards Culpeper, Hooker not knowing that the enemy at that very time was marching for the same point. But he did know that Stuart with ten thousand cavalry was there, and it was all important to learn whether that leader was about to undertake one of his favorite raids, or whether he meant to cover the movements of the Confederate army.

The Union cavalry under Pleasonton numbered about three-fourths as many as Stuart's, and it was still suffering from its

exhausting march made early in May. In order to equalize the forces the two infantry brigades of Ames and Russell, detached from the Eleventh and Sixth corps, and comprising about three thousand men, were added to the Union cavalry. These troops, however, were scattered, and with a view of giving them time to concentrate, Hooker directed Pleasonton not to cross the river until nine o'clock in the morning.

The Invading Army

Meanwhile, Longstreet and his infantry had reached Culpeper on the evening of the 7th, Lee being with him. The invading army was in the highest spirits, for the presence of its chief told them that important events were at hand, and they were confident that their leader would open the way to a final triumph.

The campaign was assuming definite shape. Stuart was to threaten the Unionists in the neighborhood of Warrenton, so as to hide the movements of the grand army that was to wheel to the northwest, and, marching through Sperryville and Thornton's Gap, enter the Shenandoah Valley.

In the gathering gloom of the evening of the 8th, Stuart went into camp near Brandy Station and established his headquarters on Fleetwood Hill, an elevation of considerable height. The brigades of Generals Robertson, Hampton, and W. H. F. Lee and the mounted artillery were at this hill, while Jones' brigade guarded the Rappahannock fords, and Fitzhugh Lee's brigade bivouacked at Oak Shade, across the Hazel river.

The Union Cavalry

The three divisions of the Union cavalry were commanded respectively by Generals Buford and Gregg and Colonel Duffié, all officers of courage and skill. They knew that Stuart was at Brandy Station, but were unaware of the disposition of his forces. Since it was all important to learn this, Pleasonton sent forward his first column, comprising Buford's division and Ames' infantry, to cross the Rappahannock at Beverly Ford, a couple of miles above Rappahannock Station, and march straight upon Brandy Station, not quite five miles distant. The second column was to cross the river below and divide on the other side. Duffié was to advance to Stevensburg, to learn whether the road between Chancellorsville and Culpeper was occupied by the enemy, whether there were any troops advancing along that highway, and to protect the left against any demonstration of the Confederates.

In the dense fog of the early morning of the 9th, the two Union

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THE CAVALRY FIGHT AT BRANDY STATION

columns crossed the Rappahannock, Gregg being able to do so at Kelly's Ford without detection by the enemy. The thick mist enabled Buford's head of column to surprise and scatter Jones' outposts at Beverly Ford, but the Federals were sharply attacked, and, in the fight that followed, Colonel Benjamin F. Davis, commanding the head of Buford's column, was mortally wounded. At the critical moment, when the Unionists were retreating, the Eighth Illinois dashed up, drove back the Confederates upon Jones' main body, and captured a part of Stuart's baggage.

A Brilliant Union Dash

Jones had hurriedly formed his brigade some two miles up the river, where he awaited the Union attack, knowing that it would not be long before Stuart would send him help. His position was critical, for the assault of the Unionists was made with a vigor and dash that threatened to carry everything before it. Ames' brigade occupied the wood in front, while Buford's second brigade moved to the right, to attack the enemy's flank. But the Confederate artillery was concentrated against Buford, and the arrival of Stuart compelled the Unionists to retreat.

Immediately on learning of the passage of Beverly Ford, Stuart hurried to meet the Unionists, leaving Robertson to watch Brandy Station. The Federals posted in the edge of the wood, and supported by the hot fire of the infantry, kept Stuart in check, so that for a long time the combatants did nothing more than exchange their fire of small arms and artillery, without coming to close quarters.

The capture of a portion of Stuart's baggage gave Pleasonton the information of which he was in quest. Lee's army was on the march to the valley of the Virginia, and the Confederate cavalry were to make an attack on the Orange and Alexandria railway with a view of covering the movement.

Pleasonton saw a chance to strike an effective blow against Stuart, and, as commander of the entire Union cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, it was his duty to learn the result of the movement which was then under way. Stuart on his part was about ready to attack Pleasonton, when the signal-station on the top of Fleetwood Hill sent out the alarming news that a Union column was advancing on his rear, and was already threatening Brandy Station. Stuart saw his critical situation, for the approaching column was Gregg's, which, it will be remembered, crossed the river lower down at Kelly's Ford. The Confederate cavalryman, therefore, was in danger of being

Alarm of the Confederates

caught "between the upper and nether millstone." He left the brigades of W. H. F. Lee and Fitzhugh Lee in front of Pleasonton, and hastened with the troops of Hampton and Jones and a part of his light artillery to meet Gregg.

Meanwhile, Gregg had become involved in a fierce fight before Stuart could assail him. His scouts reached Brandy Station, but Robertson quickly took possession of it, only to be attacked immediately by one of Gregg's brigades under the command of Colonel Percy Wyndham. The First Maryland charged against the left, while a part of the Union artillery pounded the enemy's pieces posted back of Fleetwood Hill. The loyal Marylanders came up on a run, driving out the Confederates and capturing a number of prisoners. With Kilpatrick supporting his right, Wyndham hurled his whole brigade against Fleetwood Hill, flinging off Robertson who charged upon his troops. Three Confederate guns were captured and a number of buildings where Stuart had passed the previous night.

Just then Stuart came up, and, feeling that Fleetwood must be retaken at any cost, he assailed the Unionists with such energy that Wyndham's somewhat scattered troops were forced back. They quickly re-formed, however, and returning to the charge, regained the ground they had lost.

A Picturesque Cavalry Fight

Stuart found all the fighting that he wished. His troops were quick to recover, and assailed the Unionists in turn. There was no time to reload pistols, and the combatants went at it with swords. It was cut and slash, parry and thrust, and back and forth, the thousands mingling in one furious conflict which all concede was the most picturesque and genuine cavalry fight of the whole war.

Wyndham was pressed so hard that he fell back towards the station, taking his two guns and the three captured ones with him. With a view of relieving him, Kilpatrick's brigade was flung against the left flank of the Confederates, but no impression was made, and the cavalry fight went on with intensified fierceness. Back and forth charged the contestants, squads scurrying hither and thither, still cutting and striking, taking and retaking the cannon over and over again, while the numerous neighing horses galloping hither and thither with empty saddles showed that the battle was anything but child's play.

Gregg's division was fighting a force twice as numerous as its own, but it managed to hold its position north of the railway, though

there was no prospect of help from any direction, for Duffié was several miles to the left at Stevensburg, where he had dispersed a small force of the enemy, but he did not reach Brandy Station until four o'clock in the afternoon. Russell's infantry on the right were too far in the rear to give any help to the cavalry, while beyond them Buford was steadily driving W. H. F. Lee, that commander receiving a serious wound.

Despite Lee's defeat, however, he accomplished his prime purpose, that of delaying the advance of Pleasonton, so that the cavalry fight at Brandy Station came to an end before he knew it was under way.

GENERAL JUDSON N. KILPATRICK

Kilpatrick's brigade was finally driven back, and almost at the same time Wyndham was forced to abandon Brandy Station, leaving behind him the five guns over which the combatants had fought so long.

Fortunate for the Unionists was it that they emerged so well from the fight, for they had hardly left Brandy Station when they saw train after train of cars stop and disgorge thousands of soldiers whose forests of bayonets gleamed in the bright summer sun. They rapidly fell into line and formed an impressive sight, for they constituted the head of a column of Ewell's corps which had been hurried from Culpeper to Brandy Station by Lee the moment he received tidings of the battle going on there. Gregg saw that no time was to be lost, and he kept beyond reach of this overwhelming force. He fell back rapidly, hoping to find Russell and to give help to Buford, who, there was no doubt, was engaged somewhere with the enemy.

Confederate Reenforcements

W. H. F. Lee continued retreating before Buford, and Pleasonton and Buford were soon joined by Russell's infantry and Kilpatrick's

cavalry. Stuart, following the latter, reunited with that part of his command which he had left when he galloped to Brandy Station. He had received such rough handling from the cavalry that he abandoned any intention he might have formed of raiding the rear of the Union army.

Pleasonton had secured the all-important information that Hooker was anxious to obtain. He took back to the Union leader the news that not only was a powerful Confederate cavalry force at Culpeper, but also a considerable part of the Army of Northern Virginia was there. All doubt as to the intentions of Lee was removed.

Lee's Purpose Unveiled

The loss was about six hundred on each side, with perhaps half as many prisoners, many of whom were wounded. It was not yet dark when all the Union troops reached the other side of the Rappahannock.

Stuart had not only gained a vivid impression of the courage and dash of the Union cavalry, but he had learned the difficulty of the task assigned him, that of holding a curtain before the Confederate army that should shut out all knowledge of its movements from the Federals.

Hooker was convinced by the information obtained that the Confederate army was removed from his front, leaving the way to Richmond open. Lee had half seriously proposed to his officers the plan of "swapping queens," that is, of exchanging Richmond for Washington, for, could the amazing trade be made, the gain to the Confederacy would have been decisive. With the capital of our country in the possession of the insurgents, what nation of Europe would have failed to recognize the Southern Confederacy?

What Might Have Happened

But it may well be asked whether, if the Army of the Potomac had advanced straight upon Richmond, which certainly would have fallen, what assurance could Lee have of taking Washington? The city was surrounded by powerful fortifications, with fine artillery, and its garrison of thirty-six thousand men could be quickly increased to fifty thousand by the troops from Harper's Ferry and Baltimore. This force need not fear the efforts of Lee and an army twice as numerous as that under Lee's command. But neither President Lincoln nor General Halleck would accept the plan of Hooker, who was therefore compelled to maneuver so as to cover Harper's Ferry and to protect Washington.

On the 11th of June, Hooker extended his right wing along the

Upper Rappahannock, because of the presence of a part of Lee's army at Culpeper. On that day the Third corps was ordered to take position between Beverly Ford and Rappahannock Station. The next day two other corps assumed positions where they could give relief or defend the passes of the Bull Run Mountains if the Confederates should follow the path made by Stonewall Jackson the year before.

On the 13th, the First corps posted itself at Bealeton Station, and the Eleventh at Catlett's Station. The brilliant Reynolds commanded the right wing composed of three corps, while Hooker remained with the left wing, comprising the other four corps, in the vicinity of Falmouth.

Lee's Freedom of Action

Lee had absolute control of the Confederate forces, with his movements unhindered by any orders from Richmond. He had decided upon his plan of campaign, and he followed it with zeal and resolution. The ridges running parallel with the Blue Ridge and Bull Run Mountains, crossed by a few defiles that were easily defended, afforded an admirable screen to his movements, while the lovely Shenandoah Valley gave every facility for rapid marching.

Longstreet halted at Culpeper with his corps, and Ewell resumed his march on the 10th. Imboden's brigade, at that time among the upper valleys of the Alleghenies, was ordered to cover his left and to destroy the Baltimore and Ohio railway, so as to prevent reënforcements from reaching Milroy from the west. Jenkins' brigade preceded the infantry into the Shenandoah Valley, the entire Confederate force advancing with great rapidity.

The Confederate Progress

Ewell's three divisions and a score of batteries marched through Sperryville, Gaines' Cross-roads, and Flint Hill, and arrived at Cedarville on the banks of the Shenandoah on the evening of the 12th. With a view of surprising McReynolds' Union brigade, which Milroy had posted at Stone Ridge, five miles farther on the road to Berryville, so as to connect Winchester with Harper's Ferry, Rodes pushed his advance to that point.

The Confederates marched so rapidly that the Federals had no suspicion of the large force advancing in that direction. Jenkins was ordered to precede Rodes, while Ewell, with the remainder of his corps, passed around to the front by the regular highway from Woodstock to Winchester.

Early reached the main road near Newtown on the morning of the

13th, and hurried towards Winchester, Johnson aiming for the same point along the Front Royal road on the right. Milroy, still unsuspicious that a Confederate force much superior to his own was soon to attack him, took all the means at his command to learn the movements of the enemy. On the day before, he sent out two reconnaissances along the Woodstock and Front Royal roads. The latter did not go far enough to learn anything, while the former had a sharp brush with a part of Jenkins' brigade, without detecting the full meaning of the presence of the Confederates in that neighborhood.

Milroy's Danger

Milroy had good reason to believe that no considerable part of Lee's army could leave the Rappahannock and advance all the way to Winchester without the fact becoming known to General Halleck in Washington, who he was certain would promptly notify him. But, while such knowledge had been sent to Halleck, he failed to warn Milroy of his danger. Two days before the date of which we are speaking, Halleck telegraphed General Schenck that Harper's Ferry was the only point to be defended, and directed him to leave no force in Winchester except what was required to watch the valley. These instructions, however, were in a form so vague that Schenck did not think it necessary to order Milroy to evacuate Winchester. On the contrary, while leaving the place himself, he advised his lieutenant to stay and defend it until ordered to withdraw. Thus the ripe fruit awaited plucking by the hand that was already outstretched.

Preparations for Defense

Under the belief that he was threatened only by a detachment of the enemy's cavalry, Milroy prepared to defend his position against such a force. McReynolds was drawn in from Berryville, two brigades took position at Kernstown, General Elliott with one brigade occupying the right, while Colonel Ely with the other brigade took the left. They numbered about five thousand men, a part of the effective force being left to occupy the forts.

Elliott's position among the hills near Abraham's creek was so good that Early was forced to throw his whole division into line and outflank his right before he could be driven out. Retreating across the stream, the Unionists took position on Bower's Hill, where they were so secure that in view of the close approach of night, and the fatigue of his troops from their excessive marching, Early decided to leave them unmolested for the time.

Meanwhile, Johnson on the right encountered Colonel Ely, and after some hot fighting drove him back. Milroy began to wonder what all this meant. He could not account for the presence of so large a Confederate force, but the mystery was soon solved. On questioning the first prisoners who fell into their hands, he was told that they belonged to the Second corps of Lee's army!

GENERAL ROBERT H. MILROY

This was startling news, for it told Milroy the utter folly of hoping to make a successful defense against so overwhelming a force. Not only were the Confederates three times as numerous as his own troops, but they were veterans under the leadership of the capable successor of Stonewall Jackson.

Still, the instructions to Milroy were so positive that he had no choice but to stay and make the best defense possible. The orders for his withdrawal had been sent, but the telegraph wires were cut, so that they never reached him. Furthermore, he believed that the Army of the Potomac would be so close upon the heels of Lee that the defense of Winchester might be prolonged sufficiently to save it. Still further, since McReynolds' brigade was on the march to join him, it would be exposed to almost certain capture or destruction if Milroy should make a hurried withdrawal from Winchester. Such were the reasons that induced him to remain where he was with seemingly certain defeat awaiting him, instead of retreating while he had the opportunity of doing so.

Milroy Entrapped

When Rodes reached Berryville, McReynolds, whom he expected to capture, had left and joined Milroy at Winchester late in the evening. During the night Milroy withdrew from the posi-

tions he had been occupying and concentrated his forces among the forts in the upper part of the town.

Carefully looking over the ground from Bower's Hill that morning, Ewell decided that Early should take the new works on Flint Hill by assault, while Johnson held the attention of Milroy from the opposite direction. Early set out to do his part, making a wide detour so as to deceive the Federals as to his intentions.

Detour of the Confederates

This detour was so extended that it was not until about the middle of the afternoon that his three brigades reached the wood on the top of a high hill, one mile from Winchester. The day was very warm, and Early allowed his men to enjoy the grateful shade of the forest for an hour or more.

All this time Ewell was pounding the Union positions from Bower's Hill, but his chief interest lay in the works on Flint Hill which Early had set out to carry by assault. Ewell scanned the woods through his field-glass, wondering why his lieutenant was so tardy in his movement, though he knew there must be good cause for his delay.

Still Milroy had no suspicion of the danger that threatened him from the north. From his post of observation, he fixed his attention upon the fight that was going on to the southward, but was convinced that a serious turn would soon be given to the conflict.

The hot summer afternoon was drawing to a close, when the thunder of cannon behind him caused Milroy to look around. Early's twenty pieces of artillery had opened from the wood upon the works

The Attack

on Flint Hill, with such effect that the Union guns were soon silenced. Instantly Milroy ordered the garrison to be reënforced and to attack the enemy's batteries, but nothing could be done.

Hays' brigade bounding from the wood dashed up Flint Hill, and the defenders fell back under cover of the fire from the fort. The captured guns were turned against this fort, and Milroy saw that the chance for an aggressive movement had passed.

Night was at hand, and the assailants forbore to attack the forts in which Milroy had concentrated his troops, and which the Confederates could have knocked to pieces, but the Unionists were nearly out of ammunition and provisions, so that they were doomed if they remained where they were.

The only possible escape was by flight during the night, and hurried preparations were made for leaving. The sick, wounded, artil-

lery, and wagons were left behind, and the cavalry and infantry set out to withdraw. Milroy was too wise to trust the inhabitants of Winchester, who were unfriendly because of his rigorous rule, and by exercising great caution he reached the Martinsburg road without detection by the enemy.

With every mile placed behind them, the Unionists grew more hopeful that they had given their foes the slip, but they were disappointed. About five miles were passed and they were approaching Rocktown, when there came a flame of musketry from the woods beside the road. The Federals dreaded such an attack, and knowing their desperate situation, they closed up their lines and assailed the enemy in turn. The opportunity for pressing their retreat was favorable, and Milroy issued orders to that effect, but the darkness and confusion prevented. The Confederate force was increased by the arrival of another brigade which attacked the left flank of the Nationals.

Milroy Flanked

Seeing the hopelessness of his situation, Milroy ordered such of his troops as he could control to take the Martinsburg road, which was yet open, but the disorder increased. Most of them pushed forward, each man looking out for himself, until they reached the Potomac. Although unpursued, they continued their flight into Pennsylvania, where they caused the greatest dismay. Other of the fugitives managed to reach Harper's Ferry, General Milroy being among them. The Confederates by their victory at Winchester secured 3,358 prisoners, besides 700 sick and wounded, 23 pieces of artillery, and more than 300 wagons.

General Hooker was on the alert, and two days before the rout of Milroy he learned that Ewell's corps had passed Berryville and that it was time to take up the definite pursuit of Lee and his invading army. The march began on the 13th, the Second, Sixth, and Twelfth corps going by way of Dumfries to Fairfax Court House, while the three corps on the upper Rappahannock, and General Meade, who, with the Fifth, was on guard at the junction of the two rivers, was ordered to cover the movement, and then to follow and halt at Manassas.

Pursuit of Lee

Lee pursued his plan of campaign undeviatingly. On the day that Hooker began his pursuit the Confederates were advancing in three sections, as may be said, separated on one side by a distance of more than thirty miles, and by double that space on the other. It

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will be recalled that Hill's corps, following last, was the only one exposed to dangerous attack, and a sharp assault by Hooker would be likely to overwhelm it before Longstreet could return to its help. As soon as Hill discovered that Hooker had abandoned Falmouth, he set out to join Longstreet.

The situation was this: the Army of the Potomac was gathered at Manassas and Fairfax ready to fight the enemy on the first demonstration against Washington, while Pleasonton with his cavalry was

FAIRVIEW, CHANCELLORSVILLE

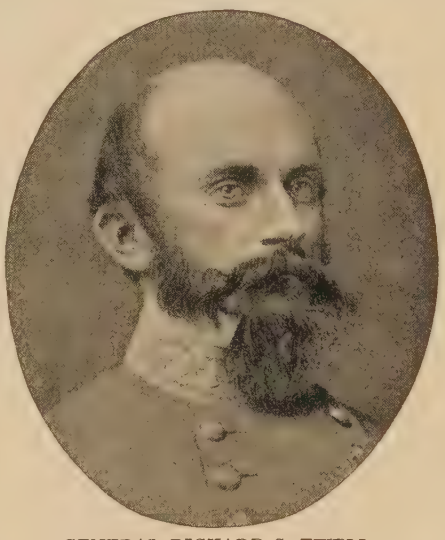
in the neighborhood of Warrenton, vigilant and ready to strike a blow when the chance presented itself.

Alarm of the Government

As may well be supposed, the news of the rout of Milroy startled the government and the whole North, for it left hardly a doubt that the most powerful army ever marshaled under the stars-and-bars was sweeping northward and would soon be in Pennsylvania. General Halleck, the President, and the Secretary of War, on learning of the investment of Winchester, sent a number of dispatches to Hooker, asking him to relieve Milroy, or cut the column of the enemy in two. The President gave expression to the logical and characteristic remark: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim *somewhere*." In a few hours, however, came the news of Milroy's disaster. Believing

that Harper's Ferry was the point threatened by Lee's army, General Halleck at once showed his usual solicitude for the safety of that place by recommending to Hooker to march upon Leesburg, so as to stop Lee from crossing the Potomac.

By this time Pennsylvania was in consternation. Many of the inhabitants believed that the invading army would not stop until its officers carried out their boast of watering their horses in the Delaware. General Couch was hastily summoned to Harrisburg, where he vigorously strove to organize the state militia. There was not much enthusiasm shown by the people in answering the calls of the governor, and the recruits would have cut a sorry figure in trying to check the advance of the invaders.



GENERAL RICHARD S. EWELL

Never was there such desperate manual labor done in the capital of Pennsylvania as during the middle days of June, 1863. The city and surrounding country were overrun by the droves of horses, mules, and cattle driven to that place in great haste by their Maryland owners, who found themselves in the path of the approaching army. The men toiled day and night, throwing up barricades and fortifications, while thousands, well aware that these could do little to stay the march of the conquerors, fled farther northward.

The Panic in Harrisburg

On the 16th of June, the Confederate advance under Jenkins entered Greencastle, the first Pennsylvania village, and by dark it was at Chambersburg. The invaders behaved well towards the inhabitants, but, as might have been expected, they took charge of all the horses, cattle, forage, and provisions and medical stores within reach. Those that were bought were paid for with Confederate money, and the rest confiscated, the two methods of obtaining supplies being in reality the same.

Every one was sure that the whole Confederate army was close

behind Jenkins and that he would push his raid with relentless rigor, but on the 17th he wheeled about and galloped back to Williamsport, where General Rodes and his three brigades had taken position on the left bank of the Potomac. Ewell was obliged to await between Williamsport and Winchester the arrival of the other two corps that were a long distance away, for now that Lee was about to enter Pennsylvania, it was necessary that his army should be held in hand, so as to be ready for battle at any time. On the 19th of June, Longstreet reached the vicinity of Winchester.

Longstreet at Winchester

Three days before, General Imboden had made an advance in the west, occupying Cumberland on the 17th, and cutting off General Kelley's communications with Maryland.

Lee waited at Culpeper until he learned that General A. P. Hill was on the road to join him, when he put his troops in motion. He ordered Longstreet to cross the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge and not to pass to the west of that mountain chain except through Ashby's Gap and Snicker's Gap. This would make it appear to the Federals that he meant to attack Leesburg, though his movement was intended to cover the march of Hill, who was to take the same route to Winchester that had been followed by Ewell.

Confederate Movements

The Confederate First corps began the march on the 15th, Stuart protecting the movement by keeping to the right. The withdrawal of Imboden and Jenkins left only four brigades of the cavalry division that had been doing guard duty along the Upper Rappahannock since the battle of Brandy Station. Hampton's brigade remained to watch the river; a regiment of W. H. F. Lee's brigade stayed lower down to go with Hill, while Colonel Munford, commanding Fitzhugh Lee's brigade, which was to open the route for Longstreet, moved toward Barbee's Cross-roads. Farther to the right, Stuart crossed the Rappahannock at Hinson's Mills with Robertson and Colonel Chambliss, the latter having charge of W. H. F. Lee's brigade since the wounding of that officer at Brandy Station. Jones was instructed to watch Aestham river, joining the remainder of the division after the army had crossed the stream. The following day Stuart reached the railway from Manassas, Salem and Piedmont without seeing any of the Nationals.

In obedience to General Halleck's orders for the protection of Harper's Ferry, Hooker made ready on the morning of the 17th to advance to that point by forced marches, but another order from

Halleck stopped the Army of the Potomac as it was on the point of moving. Lee's real purpose could not as yet be fathomed with certainty. It was known that the Confederate army was between Culpeper and Winchester, but whether it intended to advance upon Manassas and compel the Army of the Potomac to take the position it held two years before, or whether an invasion of Pennsylvania had been determined upon, could only be conjectured, and the matter was of too momentous importance to be left conjectural.

GENERAL JOHN D. IMBODEN

Hooker decided to halt between Manassas and Centerville until the question was settled. Since he could not prevent Lee from crossing the Potomac, it seemed wise to wait until he was beyond his base of operations, before attacking him.

Before Halleck's counter order reached the Army of the Potomac, Pleasonton was well on his way to Aldie to clear the march for Hooker. He was given permission to continue as far as the foot of the Blue Ridge, and, in case he did not meet the enemy, he was to press through Leesburg to the vicinity of Harper's Ferry. The Second brigade, under Kilpatrick, was at the head of Gregg's division which formed the advance. Three regiments of this brigade, with a part of the First close behind, advanced toward Aldie, and Colonel Duffié, with the First Rhode Island, at Thoroughfare Gap, was instructed to join Kilpatrick at Middleburg.

Advance of Stuart

Believing that the Unionists were still a long way from Bull Run Mountains, Stuart on the same day left his camps along the Manassas railway, intending to occupy the passes of those mountains. Chambliss taking the road crossing Thoroughfare Gap, was ordered to watch that defile; Munford was to post himself at Aldie, and Robertson was to wait at Rectortown, so as to support either as necessity might demand. Munford had a long distance to go, and as his men were worn out, and the Federals were not believed to be

near, he halted at Dover and sent a small force to occupy Aldie. Stuart and his staff stayed at Middleburg.

Defeat of the Enemy's Cavalry

Early in the afternoon the Union scouts met those of Munford near Aldie. Kilpatrick with the Second New York instantly charged and captured the village, but Munford, learning of the approach of the enemy, hurried forward from Dover with his brigade. He had hardly time to take a strong position when Kilpatrick assailed him with vehemence, driving in his line of skirmishers and capturing a number of prisoners. The Unionists were in turn forced back, when the First Maine, sent by General Gregg, arrived to the relief of Kilpatrick, who resumed the offensive with the same vigor as before. The Confederates were compelled to give way, and Munford, learning that he was threatened in the rear, hurriedly fell back to Middleburg.

It was Duffié, who with a small force appeared so suddenly before Middleburg that Stuart had barely time to escape and send the word to Munford, which caused him to retreat. Duffié hastily fortified Middleburg, his force numbering less than three hundred men. Stuart, exasperated by the rough handling he had received, hurled the whole of Robertson's brigade upon the valiant Unionists and speedily drove them from their position. Retreating along the road by which they had advanced, Duffié was assailed by Chambliss, finally escaping with the loss of more than half his force. That night Munford joined Stuart at Middleburg, the three brigades of Confederate cavalry thus being united.

Hooker's Westward Movement

On receiving news of these sharp engagements, General Hooker determined to move his army westward so as to be ready to pass through the defiles of the Blue Ridge, or to cross the fords of the Potomac, as might be necessary. The Fifth corps was sent to Aldie with instructions to place Barnes' division at the disposal of Pleasonton in his operations against Stuart, and on the 19th the Twelfth corps was near Leesburg, the Eleventh in the rear along the Aldie road, the First near Herndon Station, the Third at Gum Springs, the Second at Centerville, and the Sixth at Germantown.

During those stirring days the cavalry of both armies had plenty to do. Stuart had taken position with Robertson and Chambliss at Middleburg, and Pleasonton made ready to attack him. He appeared before Middleburg on the morning of the 18th, and by some

skillful maneuvering convinced Stuart that it was discreet for him to fall back towards Rector's Cross-roads.

The next day Pleasonton showed so much desire to fight Stuart that the latter decided to gratify him. The conflict was fierce, both sides displaying great bravery, but Stuart was defeated. Receiving reënforcements, he renewed the fight with strong hopes of success, but the Unionists were also reënforced, not only by cavalry but by infantry, and Stuart was driven back at all points, losing two guns, the first that had been captured from him during the war.

Stuart had been compelled to yield seven or eight miles of ground, and Pleasonton and the scouts of the latter, by climbing the rocky slopes of the Blue Ridge, were enabled to see the stirring picture on the other side.

The view was impressive. All the lower valley of the Shenandoah was spread out before them, and, in the bright sunlight, the field of vision extended from Winchester to Bolivar Heights at Harper's Ferry. The scenery at that time of the year was beautiful, but what most interested the scouts were the long columns of infantry marching northward toward the Potomac, with their myriads of bayonets flashing in the rays of the sun. These columns were those of Ewell on their way to Pennsylvania, while the others that were approaching Ashby's Gap were the reënforcements that Longstreet was sending to Stuart.

A Stirring View

The curtain that had so long hidden the movements of the Confederate army was drawn aside at last, and their enemies gained the wished-for view behind the scenes. The news that Pleasonton had picked up piecemeal was confirmed.

Following the orders of Lee, Longstreet passed through Upperville on the 19th, his columns occupying defiles of the Blue Ridge, and the next day he crossed the Shenandoah. On the 21st, he learned that Stuart was in full retreat and hard pushed by the Unionists. Longstreet, therefore, sent McLaws back to Ashby's Gap, where he arrived near dusk and took the place of Stuart's wearied troopers. Pleasonton, however, having obtained the information of which he was in quest, withdrew toward Aldie.

Convinced that Hooker could not be drawn any farther from Washington, Lee saw that if he meant to push his invasion of the Northern states, he must hesitate no longer. On the 21st, he ordered Ewell to advance upon and capture Harrisburg, the capital

The Advance of Lee

of Pennsylvania, a step that was sure to increase the consternation of the North, and that would seem to promise the fall of Washington. Rodes reached Greencastle on the 22d, and Johnson was there the next day, while Jenkins in advance entered Chambersburg and Early took possession of Cavetown at the base of South Mountain. Learning of the withdrawal of Pleasonton, Lee issued marching orders for his other two corps.

Hill crossed the Potomac and was at Chambersburg on the 27th, and at the close of the same day Longstreet with his three divisions was a little to the south of the same town. Meanwhile, Ewell, with the remaining third of the army, was sweeping across the rich section before him, without meeting serious resistance. The famished horde at last entered a country which to them must have seemed "as fair as a garden of the Lord." Booty and treasures of measureless value were brought to Chambersburg, and thence forwarded south, where it need not be said they were welcome.

Ewell and his two divisions reached Carlisle on the 27th, and the next day a number of his troopers reconnoitered the defenses of Harrisburg. The sight of these gray-coats scanning the approaches to the city caused more terror among the inhabitants than was ever before known. Finally, the troopers rode back with the report that the capture of the place could be accomplished without difficulty. Ewell made ready to do so, when he was stopped by an order from General Lee.

Alarm in Harrisburg

Early was east of the mountains to cover the right wing of the army and to watch the roads north of Baltimore and west of Philadelphia. To protect his flanks, Lee guarded every path along which danger might come. This of course was the work of the cavalry, and since Stuart was still in Virginia watching Hooker, the duty was assigned to Early. The latter arrived at Gettysburg on the evening of the 26th, drove out the Twenty-sixth militia regiment of Pennsylvania, and encamped in the vicinity.

The next day they reached Berlin and were at York on the 28th. Gordon's brigade, by following the line of the railway, was the first to reach York. It was instructed to hasten to Wrightsville, where a fine bridge spanned the Susquehanna, which Lee ordered to be burned. Meeting with no resistance, however, Early decided to cross the river by it and to go up the left bank to the help of Ewell. But before Gordon could reach it, the structure was set on fire by

Cavalry Movements

the Unionists and destroyed. The glare of the blazing bridge and a number of adjoining houses was visible over many miles of surrounding country, and told the terrified inhabitants that the dreaded Confederate army had reached the banks of the Susquehanna.

Hooker displayed vigor and ability in the difficult task placed in his hands. By the 27th, the whole seven army corps of the Army of the Potomac, with all the artillery, cavalry, and enormous supply trains, were across the Potomac and following the Confederate army at a distance of less than fifty miles, while Lee supposed it was still in Virginia. He naturally expected that Stuart would promptly notify him of any such movement on the part of Hooker, but Stuart had been so roughly handled by Pleasonton that he had no chance to learn of the passage of the river by the Federals.

Both Armies Across the Potomac

Stuart was impatient for revenge because of his treatment by the Union cavalry, and he formed the idea of repeating his exploit in the Peninsula and in Virginia, when he rode around the Army of the Potomac. It was a tempting scheme to the brilliant young officer, and his heart was so set upon it that he did not hesitate to put a construction upon the permission of Lee which the general never meant to give. He appreciated too fully the need of his cavalry where they belonged to allow them to ride off on an excursion where it may be said there was nothing to gain and everything to lose.

The Second army corps of the Unionists having arrived on the 20th to take position at Thoroughfare Gap, Stuart believed the entire Union army was to the rear of this range, and that between it and Washington there was no force that he need fear.

Stuart's Cavalry Raid

Seizing the reluctant permission of the Confederate commander-in-chief, and giving its terms the widest possible construction, Stuart made haste to enter upon his raid. Generals Robertson and Jones were left with some four thousand cavalry, with orders to keep watch of the Union line, and, disregarding the orders of Longstreet to remain within call, the cavalry leader set out on the night of June 24.

On this eventful and, for the Confederates, ill-advised raid, Stuart took with him the brigades of Fitzhugh Lee, W. H. F. Lee, and Hampton. Colonels Munford and Chambliss commanded the former. The riders carried one day's forage for their horses and three days' rations for themselves. They took with them also six guns and several ambulances.

The command assembled at Salem, and left that place in a northerly direction. Galloping across the fields, however, Stuart changed to the eastward and reached Glascock's Gap, some distance south of Thoroughfare Gap; then, trending more to the north, he aimed for Haymarket.

Before arriving at that point, Stuart received his first surprise, which was anything but agreeable. The entire Second Federal corps (on its way from Thoroughfare Gap to relieve the Third corps at Gum Springs), was marching over the road that he wished to follow, and which he had been confident of finding clear.

To hide his movement, Stuart made a long detour to the south, and then halted to allow his horses to graze and rest, one brigade pushing on to Gainesville. Centerville was occupied soon after, and Stuart awoke to the fact that the country between him and the front of the Union army was swarming with troops whom he was likely to encounter at any time.

Stuart's Blunder

He ought to have seen, as possibly he did see, that the very information he had gained, as well as that within his reach, was all important to Lee, to whom it should have been carried without an hour's delay; but the raid upon which he had entered was too tempting to be given up, and he determined to press on at all hazards.

Unable to force a passage west of Centerville, Stuart turned eastward. He reached Wolf Run Shoals, on the Occoquan, on the 27th. In a brisk encounter with a regiment of cavalry, he captured two hundred prisoners, drove the rest back to Washington, and was at Drainesville only a few hours after the departure of the Sixth corps, thus proving that instead of passing around the Army of the Potomac, he was only in the rear of it.

Had he pressed on to Leesburg, he would have learned this fact and could easily have galloped up the right bank of the Potomac, and carried to Lee the news of the passage of that river by the Unionists, but the cavalry leader believed that the whole Union army was advancing upon Leesburg along the bank, and that it was an easy matter for him to join Lee by riding through Maryland.

Crossing the Potomac

Near the falls of the Potomac was found a ford unguarded by the Unionists, and across this the troopers managed to force their way with great difficulty. Being now in Maryland, they destroyed the canal near the river, gave their horses a much-needed rest, and continued their march towards Rockville.

Stuart now became aware that the Army of the Potomac was between him and Lee, all three advancing northward by parallel routes. Hooker was in the middle, with precipitous hills separating him from Stuart on one side and Lee on the other. The passes by which the cavalry leader expected to join his chief were closed, and the only thing to be done was to beat the Federals in the race for the Susquehanna.

Capture of Union Wagon Train

Near the town of Rockville, on the road between Washington and Frederick, the Confederate cavalry captured a large Union wagon-train, almost within sight of the national capital. The situation of the troopers gave little time for rest. Riding hard all night they reached the Baltimore and Ohio railway near Sykesville on the morning of the 29th. Anxious now to join Early as soon as possible, Stuart took a northwesterly course toward Westminster, where he expected to strike the road to Gettysburg.

The First Delaware gave the raiders a rattling reception at Westminster, and they did not gain possession of it until after serious loss. On the morning of the last day of June, Stuart's division was pushing towards Hanover, at which point he was hopeful of finding means of communicating with headquarters.

The Raiders Worn Out

By this time men and horses were nearly used up. They had been on the road for six days and nights, with very little sleep, rest, and food, and with no news of the main army. It was absolutely necessary to distribute hay among the horses, that until then had lived wholly upon grass. The ammunition of the raiders was running low; they had two hundred captured wagons and four hundred prisoners to guard, and they learned that Kilpatrick, who was looking for them, had encamped the night before at Littlestown, only a few miles away. The unpleasant truth thus became manifest that, despite all the energy which Stuart and his men had shown, they were still behind the Union army.

Defeat of Raiders

Kilpatrick, however, was unaware that his old antagonist was so near, but the two opposing forces met at Hanover, where a hot fight took place, the Confederates being defeated. Stuart saw that the only hope for him and his men was to make for the Susquehanna, where he expected to find Early.

To do this, it was necessary to push men and horses to the utmost verge of endurance. It was done; hundreds of the men sat in their saddles sound asleep; the bodies of others swayed to and fro and

rolled to the ground, like so many logs of wood; the steeds plodded wearily forward, as such animals will, until utterly exhausted.

But in the early light of the hot morning of July 1, the weary column reached Dover. There Stuart was confident of finding Early, but was disappointed to learn that, although he had occupied that section only a few days before, he had abruptly withdrawn.

It would not do to tarry where they were, and men and horses

GENERAL MEADE AND OFFICERS

roused themselves, and resumed their search for their army, that seemed to be continually fleeing, like the *ignis fatuus*, before their approach.

A Desperate Situation

At last, on the afternoon of July 1, Stuart with one brigade arrived at Carlisle, only to learn that Ewell's men had been there, but were gone no one knew where. The situation of the raiders had become desperate. Little ammunition was left, their provisions were running low, and the town of Carlisle was prepared to oppose their entry. Stuart's supply-train was far to the rear, and, angered by the resistance of the town, he fired what shells he had left into the place.

A week had passed since his separation from Lee. The ride that he and his men had taken gave not the least help to the Con-

federate army, which was in sore need of his presence and services, as it had been ever since his departure. He now received instructions from his chief. A great battle was impending, and Stuart must be near the army during the critical time. The three brigades, therefore, were ordered to march by separate routes to Gettysburg.

Recalling the events of the preceding few days, it will be remembered that on the 27th of June, Hooker was busily engaged concentrating his army along the left bank of the Potomac, between the Monocacy and the slopes of South Mountain.

The Union Positions

The brilliant Reynolds at the head of three army corps was near Middletown at the foot of the mountains; three other corps were stationed around Frederick, while Slocum with the Twelfth was within a few miles of Harper's Ferry, where there was a garrison of twelve thousand men under General French.

It is easy to see the decisive advantage now in favor of Hooker. He could advance upon Harper's Ferry and Sharpsburg and threaten Lee's line of communication, or, still following him northward, and keeping him west of the mountains, oblige him to extend his line still farther.

With his force strengthened by the twelve thousand composing the garrison of Harper's Ferry, Slocum could enter Cumberland Valley through Sharpsburg, while Reynolds could do the same a few hours later by way of Boonsboro. This disposition of his forces by Hooker would guarantee the capture of the enormous supply-trains of the enemy which formed a continuous procession southward, while the bridges left on the Potomac and the needed supplies of ammunition from the south must inevitably fall into the hands of the Union army. Hooker decided to attempt this plan.

Anxious to use the utmost means at his command to insure success, he determined to take French and his division with him. Preparations were made for removing the *matériel*, when, as might have been anticipated, an order came from General Halleck, forbidding the abandonment of the post.

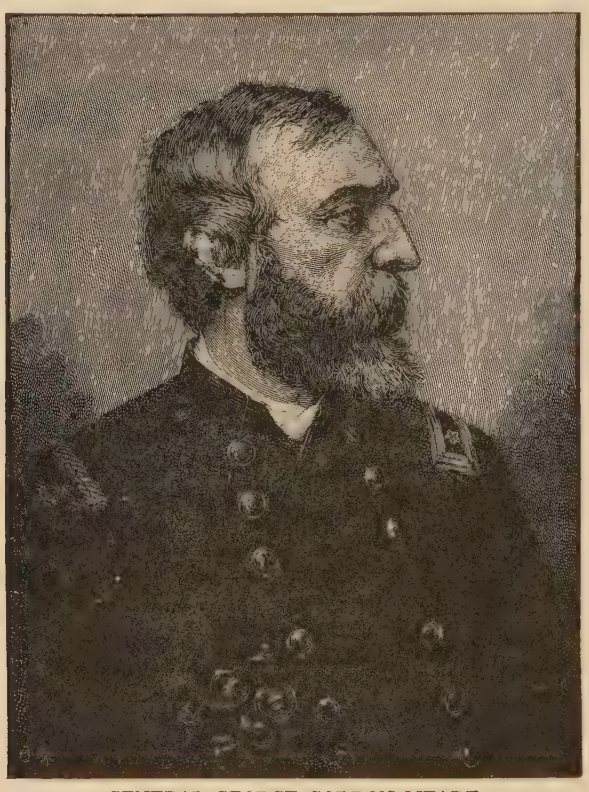
Resignation of Hooker

This was the last feather upon the camel's back. Disgusted beyond bearing, General Hooker asked to be relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac. Although, as President Lincoln had remarked, it is a bad time to swap horses when crossing a stream, he promptly granted the request of General Hooker.

While awaiting the President's decision, Hooker did everything to

comply with the orders of his superior officer. He gave over his plan of attacking the rear of General Lee in the Cumberland Valley, left French at Harper's Ferry, ordered Slocum to Frederick, and every preparation was made to continue the northward march along the eastern slopes of the mountains.

On Sunday morning, June 28, while General Meade was asleep



GENERAL GEORGE GORDON MEADE

in his tent at Frederick, Md., he was awakened by a messenger from General Halleck, with notice that he had been selected to succeed General Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac. Meade was astounded, but he promptly assumed the responsible burden.

Meade Supplants Hooker

General Meade wisely kept the *personnel* of his headquarters unchanged. General Butterfield, who had been Hooker's chief of staff, retained that office, and nothing was done that could weaken the *morale* of the army.

Meade always possessed the confidence of his officers and men, and despite the fact that it was the most critical time in the history of the Army of the Potomac and in that of the country itself, a feeling of great relief pervaded the North and the army when it became known that he had assumed general command.

It may have been that Halleck was so dissatisfied with Hooker that he purposely withheld his permission for him to withdraw the garrison from Harper's Ferry, in order to provoke him into resigning, or it may have been that at last Halleck awoke to the fact that his orders respecting that post were in the interest of the enemy; but, be that as it may, the very first dispatch sent by the general-in-chief to Meade accorded him the right to do as he chose with the garrison at Harper's Ferry, and the forces of Schenck and Couch were placed under his command.

Hooker's Views

Meade's successor in command of the Fifth corps was General Sykes, one of the most capable officers in the army. Hooker gladly gave Meade all the help he could. He told him that since Lee had not brought along his bridge-equipage, he could not mean to cross the Susquehanna, but would keep along the right bank, so as to cut off Baltimore and Washington from the North. This route of the Confederate army being so much longer than that of the Federals, would enable the latter to protect the two cities by assailing the flank of the invaders whenever and wherever they pleased.

Meade listened attentively to the views of his predecessor, to whom he had given the most loyal support, but informed him that he was obliged to differ with him. The Susquehanna is so shallow a river that army bridges are not needed in order to cross it at any point where the invaders were likely to find it to their interest to do so. Meade was correct in his views, for, as afterwards became known, Lee was ready to ford the river with a part of his army to capture Harrisburg.

Meade's Plans

Meade felt that, although he was at liberty to dispose of the garrison at Harper's Ferry as he chose, the plan of Hooker was too perilous to be tried. If the Army of the Potomac should cross South Mountain and throw itself between Lee and Virginia, Baltimore and Philadelphia could easily be captured. Meade therefore decided to follow Lee northward and compel him to turn and give battle.

While awaiting the fuller uncovering of Lee's plans, Meade was anxious to prevent his crossing the Susquehanna and capturing Balti-

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865 —

more. With this purpose, he sent his army forward in three columns by divergent routes. His forces were distributed so as to be ready to deploy hastily along the line from Westminster to Waynesboro, holding the whole breadth of the valley by resting on South Mountain on the left, whose passes they would guard, and with the right on the hills, over which would extend their communications with Baltimore and Washington. These positions were occupied on the evening of June 30.

GENERAL GEORGE SYKES

A study of the map is necessary in order to follow intelligently the movements of the two opposing armies.

The left column of the Army of the Potomac was composed of the First and Eleventh corps under Reynolds. The former was at Emmitsburg on the 29th, and on the following day encamped a few miles beyond the Gettysburg road on Marsh creek, the Eleventh posting itself at Emmitsburg.

The central column included the Third and Twelfth corps. The latter established itself at Taneytown, while the Third, learning of the appearance of the enemy at Fairfield, turned to the left and took position near Emmitsburg, so as to strengthen the left wing under Reynolds.

The right wing, comprising the Second, Fifth, and Sixth army corps, bivouacked at Frizelburg, Union, and New Windsor. The Fifth and Sixth had so long a distance to travel that they did not reach the road from Westminster to Waynesboro. Gregg's division of cavalry was unable to reach Union, through which Stuart had ridden only the day before.

Harper's Ferry Evacuated

Meade instructed French to evacuate his position at Harper's Ferry, to send all the material there to Washington, accompanied by an escort of four thousand men, and to post himself with the remaining seven thousand at Frederick. Pleasonton, wiser than Stuart,

used his cavalry to cover the movement of the army, and handled it with excellent skill, thereby giving great help to the Unionists up to the close of the struggle at Gettysburg.

Kilpatrick had the double duty of holding Stuart at the east and of clearing the advance, while Gregg bore to the right, and Buford's division was placed on the left. It will be remembered that Kilpatrick had stayed at Hanover on the 30th, where he had his encounter with Stuart. After sending Merritt with the regular cavalry brigade to guard the outlet of the Hagerstown road, at Mechanicstown, Buford rode along the western slope of South Mountain to learn whether Lee was near the Antietam on the left flank of the Army of the Potomac. He reached a point about half-way without seeing anything of the enemy, but, just as it was growing dark at Fountain Dale, he caught sight of the hostile camp-fires along the Fairfield highway.

Buford's Movements

At daylight on the 30th, he advanced with the purpose of attacking, but fired only a few shots, when he became convinced that he could accomplish little without the help of artillery, but dreading that the report of the cannon might bring the Confederate columns to the spot, he withdrew from the Gettysburg road and joined Reynolds at Emmitsburg.

Pleasonton saw signs that convinced him that Lee was preparing to strike the Army of the Potomac, and, knowing that he intended to advance his left wing to Gettysburg the next day, he ordered Buford to hasten to that town and hold it against the enemy until the arrival of the First corps. It was all important that Lee should not be allowed to seize the position ahead of him.

Buford executed the order that afternoon, and, on reaching Gettysburg, found that a Confederate brigade had been there only an hour before, coming from Cashtown, to which place it returned on the approach of the Federals.

Meade learned that during the preceding two days Ewell had not advanced any farther northward, and that the rest of Lee's army was between Cashtown and Chambersburg. It looked as if the Confederate leader meant to give his whole attention to the Army of the Potomac, and to abandon his invasion of the North.

Uncertainty

But there was no means of knowing where, and with what specific intention, Lee would concentrate his forces. The signs indicated that it would be on the eastern slope. Convinced, therefore, that

Harrisburg and Philadelphia were no longer in danger, Meade decided that all his maneuvers, henceforth, should be in view of the great battle that was inevitable between the two armies.

The divisions of the Army of the Potomac had been marched hither and thither so continuously that the men were in need of rest; the interruption of travel on the Baltimore and Ohio railway had interfered with the regular supplies, and it was necessary to reopen communications with Baltimore, first by the Westminster line, and next by that of Hanover. Meade, therefore, arranged to advance slowly until all doubt was removed as to the designs of the enemy, holding himself ready to assume a defensive position whenever the invaders should turn to attack him.

The Union Advance

Marching orders to this effect were issued on the evening of June 30, to take effect the next morning at daybreak.

Reynolds was directed to proceed with the left column to Gettysburg, the First corps occupying the village, the Eleventh a little in the rear, while the Third at Emmitsburg was to cover the rear along the Greencastle road. The Twelfth, the only one remaining in the center at Taneytown, was to advance towards Two Taverns, to unite Reynolds with the right, and the Second was to leave Frizelburg so as to form with Reynolds the central column and relieve him at Taneytown. The Fifth was to march from Union to Hanover, where it should form the first line on the right; the Sixth from New Windsor to Manchester, where it was to constitute the second line, within supporting distance of the other. The army was thus facing both west and north, the upper point of the angle resting upon Gettysburg. Military authorities agree that the disposition of these three army corps by Meade was excellent in every respect.

But the Union leader could not know at that time that most of Lee's army had crossed South Mountain, and the former was prepared, if necessary, to advance as far as the Susquehanna. Seeing the probability of Lee's offering battle along the eastern slope of the South Mountain chain, Meade advised Reynolds to concentrate all his forces either at Gettysburg or at Emmitsburg, so as to delay the advance of the enemy. At the same time, Meade was ready at any hour to assume a new position at the rear to protect Washington and Baltimore, and afford every advantage in the way of defense. The purpose in occupying Gettysburg, Emmitsburg, and Hanover was to hold the foe in check until this concentration could be effected.

Delaying the Enemy

The only knowledge that Meade could gain of the topography of the country was from an examination of the map, and yet, had he spent years in the neighborhood, he could not have made a better choice.

The corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac received detailed instructions on the morning of July 1. They were told the positions they were to assume along Pipe creek, in the event of being compelled to remain on the defensive. There was some fear expressed that this backward movement of the army at first sight of the enemy would demoralize it. Others believed that it would fail of its primary purpose, since it was so strongly defensive that Lee would decline to assail it. Possibly such might have been the result, had the situation been as supposed, but one of those unforeseen complications that often decide the issue of battles ended all conjecture, and brought the two vast armies into conflict upon a field that many believe was the choice of neither.

Gettysburg an Accident

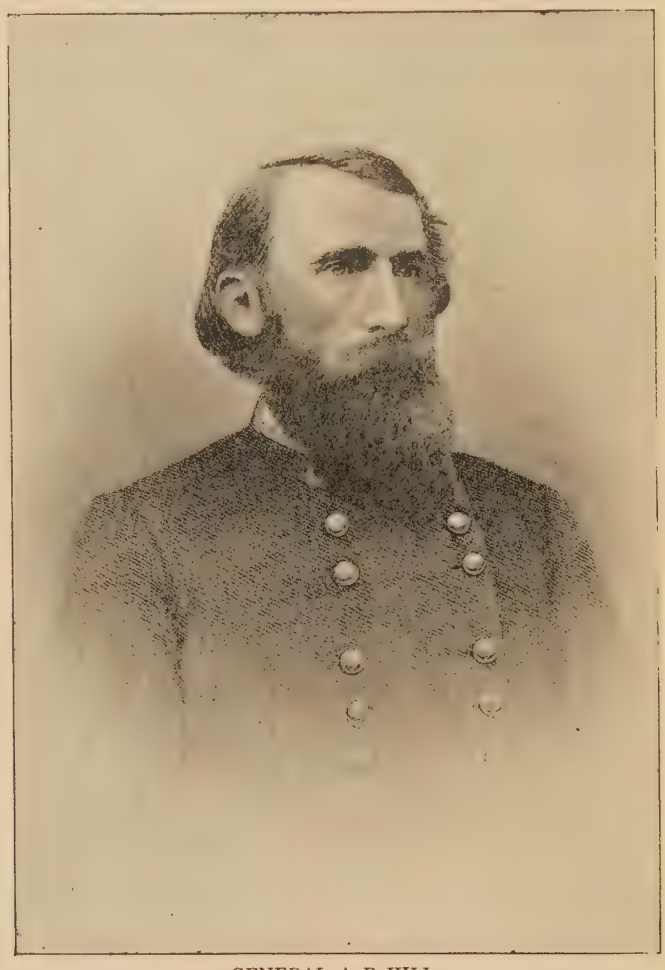
As we have stated, the absence of Stuart was a serious loss to Lee, who, hearing nothing from him, supposed that he was still watching Hooker, who (from the same cause) he believed had made no movement since the battle of Ashby's Gap. On the 28th of June, Longstreet received the first news of the passage of the Potomac by the Union army.

Fully understanding the peril to which he was exposed, by an attack from the Union troops, in case they crossed South Mountain and shut him off from Virginia, Lee diverted the danger by the plan of passing to the eastern slope himself. By doing this, it will be seen that Baltimore and even Washington were placed in so great danger that the Union army would not dare to go farther west, but would be compelled to return so as to protect the communications of the national capital. Thus the Confederate leader hoped to draw the Army of the Potomac so far northward that, when the final grapple took place, the roar of the cannon could be heard in the streets of Philadelphia. It came about, therefore, that at the hour General Meade was moving towards Gettysburg, Lee ordered his different army corps to concentrate between Cashtown and Gettysburg. Ewell received his chief's instructions on the morning of the 29th, just as he was making ready to attack Harrisburg. He had previously recalled Early from Carlisle, so that on the 30th the latter bivouacked within three miles of Heidlersburg. Here he met his

Complications

chief, who had arrived with Rodes' division, that and Johnson's division having moved on the 29th towards the neighborhood of Cashtown and Gettysburg, in accordance with the orders of Lee.

Rodes' division had marched due south, leaving South Mountain



GENERAL A. P. HILL

on the right, while Johnson retrograded from Carlisle to the neighborhood of Chambersburg, halting on the night of the 30th near Scotland, at the base of the western slope of the mountain. He meant to pass through the defile the next morning so as to join the rest of the Second corps, near the source of the Monocacy.

It will be remembered that Longstreet's corps was at Chambersburg, Hill's being a short distance farther east, near Fayetteville. Lee decided that the two corps should march through the same pass upon Cashtown and Gettysburg. Since this vast army numbered fully sixty thousand men and were without cavalry to clear the march, the advance had to be made with great care and deliberation.

Heth's division of Hill's corps took the lead, and encamped on the 29th at Cashtown. The next day, Pettigrew's brigade marched to Gettysburg in order to secure shoes, of which the men were in sore need. Having no thought of the presence of Unionists in the vicinity, the brigade was about to enter the town, when their scouts notified them of the approach of Buford's cavalry. Not knowing the strength of this force, and being eight miles from his other division, Pettigrew fell back to a point half-way to Cashtown, and warned Hill of the presence of the Federals in Gettysburg.

The Advance at Gettysburg

Pender reached Cashtown on the night of the 30th, but Anderson, who was behind him, did not get there until the next day. Longstreet advanced from Chambersburg with two divisions, leaving Pickett's behind, and stopped at Greenwood.

The news that Pettigrew sent to Hill convinced the latter that a mounted advance-guard of Unionists had been encountered, and that it would be easy to drive them out of Gettysburg. He was very desirous of securing the supply of shoes, and he ordered Heth to march upon Gettysburg with his whole division. Lee appreciated the value of the position, and, believing that he should encounter nothing besides the Union cavalry there, ordered Hill with the Second division, led by Pender, and the eight batteries of the Third corps, to follow Heth; Anderson, Hood, and McLaws in turn were to follow this movement.

A Fatal Delay

Ewell knew that Hill was at Cashtown, but not learning in time of the advance of the whole corps upon Gettysburg, he moved with his columns towards Cashtown in accordance with the instructions of General Lee. Rodes followed the shortest road, while Early marched to the southeast so as to reach the highway connecting Hunterstown and Mummasburg, the latter being some five miles north of Gettysburg. Johnson was on the other side of the mountains, and marched toward Greenwood to take his place behind the remainder of the army along the turnpike. The delay thus caused to the latter in reaching the field of battle was fatal to the Confederates.

STATUE OF GENERAL JOHN BUFORD

Culp's Hill.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

[*Author's Note:* With the repulse of Lee at Gettysburg set in the ebb tide that ran steadily until the final overthrow of the Confederacy. Before the Battle of Gettysburg the list of battles fought for the Union contained a disheartening majority of Confederate victories and Federal defeats. The time comes now for this condition of things to be reversed. Lee staggers back to the soil of Virginia with an army that has received a blow from which it is never to recover. General Lee has been much censured by military critics for leaving Virginia to invade the North. It has even been said if he had remained in Virginia he would finally have been triumphant. That the course of events would have been entirely different goes without saying, but to assert that he would have won the independence of the South is, of course, the merest conjecture. The authorities for this chapter are many, the most important being "Southern Generals," C. A. Pollard's "Lee and His Lieutenants," and the Comte de Paris' "History of the Civil War."]

Libby Prison, Richmond

IT came about, therefore, that on the first day of July the whole Confederate army was concentrated at Gettysburg. It has generally been believed that the selection of this place for the great battle by the Union commander was an accident, but such is not the fact. To General John Buford belongs the credit. His trained eye took in the full strategic value of the field, with its commanding ridges and its excellent highways. Buford was an ideal soldier and leader. He had seen much service in the dragoons after his graduation at West Point in 1848, and had risen to the command of the First division of the cavalry corps in the Army of the Potomac, and headed Meade's advance at Gettysburg. It has been shown that he reached the place on the afternoon of June 30 and drove out a small force of the enemy. Late that night he learned that Hill's corps of Lee's army

was only nine miles distant at Cashtown, with its advance several miles nearer Gettysburg. Convinced that he was on the spot where the two armies were to grapple in the supreme struggle, and knowing that Reynolds, with the First and Eleventh, was encamped only five miles away, Buford determined to hold his position against the enemy. The testimony of his signal officer is to this effect, and the words of Comte de Paris are that Buford alone "selected the ground upon which unforeseen circumstances were about to bring the two armies into hostile conflict. Neither Meade nor Lee had any personal knowledge of it."

GENERAL JOHN BUFORD

A pathetic interest attaches to the career and death of this gallant Kentuckian. He alienated his family and closest friends by throwing his energies on the side of the Union. His last action was fought at Bristoe Station, on October 14, following Gettysburg. Weakened by hard work and a wound, he fell ill, and died on the 16th of December.

We must remind the reader again that only by a careful study of the map can he gain an intelligent understanding of the complicated movements of the opposing armies and of the terrific struggle at Gettysburg.

Buford's Warning

Buford had but two brigades of cavalry. "We shall be attacked in the morning," said he to the commander of one of the brigades; "the skirmishers will thunder along three lines deep, and we shall have to fight like devils to hold our ground until the infantry can come up."

And that was the way in which the Union heroes fought. They numbered four thousand and had to dismount to fight the enemy's infantry. As is well known, one-fourth of the cavalry at such times has to give its whole attention to the horses, so that the effective

force was about three thousand men. As anticipated, the Confederate columns were discovered approaching soon after sunrise. They were in such overwhelming numbers that Buford knew he must give way, but the only question was whether he should be able to hold them in check until Reynolds could come to his help. Minutes were of measureless value. Heth, following the orders of Lee, did not press the Unionists too hard at the first. Buford and his men fought with desperate bravery, but, as he feared, A. P. Hill pressed forward at the first sound of cannon. Buford was about to give the order to fall back, when the signal officer in the belfry tower of the seminary building signaled that Reynolds was approaching over the Emmitsburg road with reënforcements. Reynolds himself thundered up ahead of his men to let Buford know that relief was at hand. The old comrades greeted each other, and messengers were sent at headlong speed to other divisions to hurry them forward, while Buford and Reynolds prepared to hold their ground until their arrival. While leading his troops, Reynolds was struck in the neck by a rifle-ball and died without speaking a word. He was one of the most brilliant officers produced by the war, and, had he lived to see its close, would have attained the highest honors. An impressive tribute to his moral worth was the fact that in the secession town of Fredericksburg, where he had been military governor, he was mourned as a personal friend.

Desperate Bravery

Death of Reynolds

The following account of the fall of Reynolds was given the writer by A. R. Waud, the artist, who was an eye-witness: "Buford, with four thousand cavalry, met the advance of the enemy on the Cashtown road and Chambersburg pike, on the morning of the 1st of July. Reynolds, who had command of the right wing of the Union army, came up to the support of Buford, at 10 o'clock a.m., with two brigades of the First corps, and immediately proceeded to post one of them (Cutter's) to the north of the old railroad bed, and returning, rode towards the other, the Iron Brigade (Meredith's), which Doubleday, who had command of the First corps, was leading to action in a piece of woods skirting Willoughby Run, where Archer's (Confederate) brigade, which had just crossed the Run, was advancing in line of battle. At the moment when one regiment of this brigade (Fairchild's), accompanied by Doubleday, had entered the wood, and was becoming hotly engaged, Reynolds, with his staff, rode up to the neck of the woods in Fairchild's rear, to examine

the ground and the dispositions of the enemy, whom he saw advancing and sweeping up on his right. Instantly wheeling to ride back, he received a ball in the back of his neck, from the direction of the enemy, and was borne insensible from the field, expiring shortly after."

General Abner Doubleday succeeded Reynolds in the command. Archer commanded the Confederate force struggling for possession of the wood, but he was not only driven out by Meredith, but General Archer and a large part of his brigade were captured. On the right of the line, however, the result was unsatisfactory. Two Union regiments were driven from the field and lost a gun, while a Confederate force was hemmed in a railway cut and subjected to such a terrific enfilading fire that many were taken prisoners and the remainder scattered. Each side was heavily reënforced and fought with obstinate bravery. One of Ewell's divisions, arriving from Carlisle, assailed the right of the Union line. The new danger was met with such skill that three North Carolina regiments were captured. General Oliver O. Howard, by right of seniority, became the successor of Reynolds. His situation was most trying, for he had just reached the spot, and knew nothing of the topography of the country, of the movements of the enemy, or of the phases of the battle up to that time. But he knew that the roads converging towards him would soon swarm with Confederate soldiers, while all the Union troops that could give help were already on the ground. He placed his own corps, the Eleventh, on the right, thus extending the line of battle to the north of the town, but leaving the line weak at many points.

GENERAL ABNER DOUBLEDAY

Reynolds' Successor

Meanwhile, the Confederate reënforcements arrived in such numbers that they broke through the center, doubled back the right flank

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Meade at Gettysburg. July 2. 1863.

of the First corps and the left of the Eleventh. Confusion reigned everywhere except on the left of the First corps, which fell back in good order. The Confederates, although suffering severe loss, captured five thousand of the fugitives that were swarming through the town. On the other hand, Iverson's Georgia brigade was decimated by Baxter's brigade, the survivors being so hard pressed that they surrendered.

The "Man of the Hour"

In the midst of the disorganization the "man of the hour" arrived in the person of General Winfield S. Hancock, sent thither by General Meade, who knew his full worth. Early in the afternoon, Meade at his headquarters at Taneytown received constant dispatches of the progress of the battle. Uncertain on which side the enemy would make his appearance, Meade arranged for withdrawing his columns to Pipe creek, but the seriousness of the fight at Seminary Hill told him it was too late to think of retreat, and he sent General Hancock as his representative.

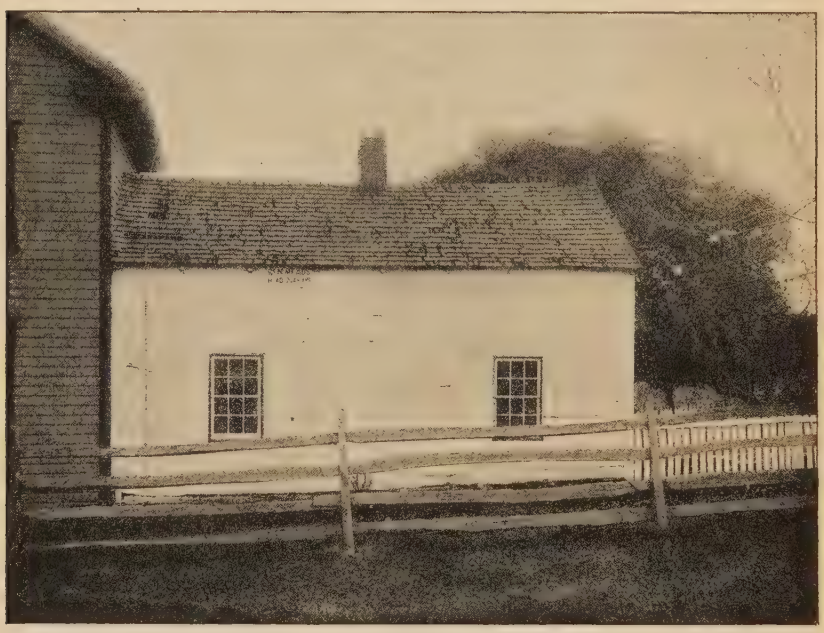
Hancock had just come in with the Second corps from Frizelburg, where he had spent the night. Reposing the fullest confidence in this superb officer, General Meade lost no time in making known to him the vast task with which he was intrusted. It was about one o'clock, when he heard that Reynolds was either killed or mortally wounded. Without delay, Meade went to the headquarters of Hancock and told him to transfer the command of the Second corps to General Gibbon, and to go at once to the front. If it should prove that Reynolds was killed or disabled, Hancock was to assume command of the corps on that field (the First and Eleventh), and the Third, which was at Emmitsburg.

Hancock's Chivalry

Hancock, with the chivalry that always controlled him, reminded Meade that General Caldwell, commanding the First division of the Second corps, was senior to General Gibbon, and that General Howard was senior to himself as Major-General of Volunteers. Meade replied that he had full authority from the Secretary of War to make what changes in the commanders he thought best. Written orders, therefore, were given Hancock on the spot. He was required not only to assume the command named, but to examine the ground at Gettysburg, and, if he thought it the best on which to fight a battle, he was so to advise Meade, who would order his whole army up.

Hancock was thirteen miles from the battle-ground. He immedi-

ately turned over his command to General Gibbon, and, accompanied by his personal staff, galloped off at a rapid pace. On the road, he met an ambulance containing the dead body of Reynolds. The direction of the wind and the peculiar conformation of the country prevented Hancock hearing the thunder and roar of battle until within a few miles of Gettysburg. Making all haste to the front,



GENERAL MEADE'S HEADQUARTERS

Arrival of Hancock

the Union troops were seen retreating in great confusion, closely followed by the enemy.

Hancock gave the time of his arrival as half-past three, though Howard makes it an hour later. Hurrying to the crest of Cemetery Hill, where Howard stood, he told him that he had been sent by General Meade to take charge of all the forces present, and that he had written orders to that effect, which he offered to show. Howard replied that it was not necessary, as the word of Hancock was sufficient.

There was not a minute to lose, and Hancock rode off to rally the panic-stricken troops, and to prevent the seizure of Cemetery Hill.

Taking Position

Howard re-formed the Eleventh corps around Von Steinwehr, whose men were drawn up across the Taneytown and Baltimore roads.

Seeing at a glance, as may be said, the salient points of the field, Hancock showed Doubleday the position for two of his divisions on the heights beyond the Emmitsburg road. Wadsworth's division was sent to post itself on Culp's Hill commanding the valley of Rock creek and flanking the plateau of Cemetery Hill.

There was a magnetism in the presence of Hancock that infused confidence in the sorely pressed troops. Powerful artillery was planted, and, before the sun had set, something like order was restored to the Union lines.

An Opportunity Lost

That single hour during which Hancock worked like a Hercules to bring order out of chaos was the golden opportunity for the Confederates. With the Federals flying before them, they had but to press the pursuit to complete a disaster that would have been irretrievable. But they did not do so, though precisely why would be hard to explain.

General Lee himself during that critical hour was standing on the ridge of Seminary Hill, looking down upon the battle-field where his men were driving the Unionists before them. Ewell was but a short distance off gathering up prisoners in the streets of Gettysburg. But while sending orders to Ewell to attack the hill up which the fugitive Federals were scrambling, Lee advised him to avoid a general engagement until the army could reach the ground. In fact, Lee, finding himself so far from his base, and having heard nothing from Stuart for more than a week, was uncertain of the strength of the Unionists, and was unwilling to risk the chance of defeat. It looked, too, as if Howard had been heavily reënforced. Yielding, therefore, to his extreme caution, the Confederate chieftain allowed the great opportunity to pass, never to return.

Lee's Caution

Being resolved to avoid a decisive battle until his army was concentrated, Lee now strove to complete that task ahead of his foe. The work was not so vast as may be thought, for two of his three army corps were in hand when the sun went down. Longstreet was away, and the order sent to Pickett at Chambersburg could not reach him before the next day. McLaws and Hood, with the remaining two divisions, had left Greenwood in the morning. The former reached Marsh creek at nine in the evening, and the latter arrived about midnight.

Meanwhile the Federals were doing their utmost to improve their

position. Culp's Hill, which could have been taken by Early without the loss of a man, was occupied by Wadsworth, and, shortly after, Sickles and Birney arrived from Emmitsburg with a brigade of the Third corps. Sickles had left one brigade from each division at Emmitsburg to cover the outlet of the mountains, and he took with him Birney's, Graham's, and Ward's brigades, directing Humphreys to follow with the rest of the Second division. But Humphreys was hindered by the supply-trains of the First and Eleventh corps, and, mistaking the road, narrowly missed colliding with the Confederates at Black Horse Tavern, finally arriving at Cemetery Hill between midnight and morning.

GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM

The arrival of this reenforcement enabled Hancock to extend and solidify his line, the presence and ability of the officer being, after all, the most valuable reënforcement that possibly could have reached the Union army.

General Slocum had marched from Taneytown that morning with the Twelfth corps, and led it to Two Taverns, five miles from Gettysburg. There he was met by Howard's urgent dispatch for help. The whole corps was immediately started again for Gettysburg, reaching Rock creek shortly after the assumption of command by Hancock.

The sound of cannon did not reveal to Slocum on which side of Wolf Hill the battle was raging, and he ordered Williams with the First division to take possession of the wooded heights. Going up the banks of the stream he speedily met Ewell's scouts. While making ready to attack, news came that the Confederates had captured Gettysburg, and the possession of Wolf Hill, therefore, was of

Capture of Gettysburg

no value. Williams halted immediately below Culp's Hill, which, as will be recalled, had just been taken possession of by Wadsworth.

General John W. Geary's division, following Williams, reached the vicinity of Cemetery Hill before six o'clock, spreading out over the extended space between Round Top and Graham's brigade. Slocum himself appeared at Cemetery Hill between six and seven o'clock, and Hancock, as directed by Meade, turned over the command to him. Hancock had done the work assigned him in a masterly manner, and, having sent several dispatches to his chief, now rode toward Taneytown, to report in person to him.

GENERAL JOHN W. GEARY

Before the arrival of Hancock's dispatches, Meade having read aright the purposes of General Lee, at once determined to concentrate the whole Union army between Gettysburg and Taneytown.

Sedgwick, with the Sixth corps, was at Manchester, when he was ordered forward. Soon after, the dispatches from Hancock reached Meade, who decided at once that Gettysburg should be the battle-ground of the contending hosts. Hancock met the Second corps only a few miles from that point, and halted it for a short time in order to guard the rear of the army against any flank movement of the enemy. The Fifth corps had started from Union in the morning, and the Sixth had left Manchester. Orders having been sent to these, it may be said that the whole Union army, like that of the enemy, was converging rapidly upon Gettysburg.

Converging towards Gettysburg

The hours of darkness were employed by both armies in preparation for the tremendous struggle of the morrow. Longstreet urged Lee to make an attempt to turn the left flank of the Federals, but the latter refused and favored an assault upon the right. The difficulties were great, but the wooded country was favorable to a furious and sudden attack.

Lee rode down to where Ewell was stationed, and was told by him

that most of the Nationals were massed in front of him, and that he meant to intrench at once on that side, but the chief continued to look for a place of attack along the Union left. Ewell expressed his ability to carry Cemetery Hill whenever Longstreet should break the lines on the Union left. The chief properly enough attached the utmost importance to the capture of the Round Tops, which he looked upon as the key to the Union positions.

GENERAL JOHN NEWTON

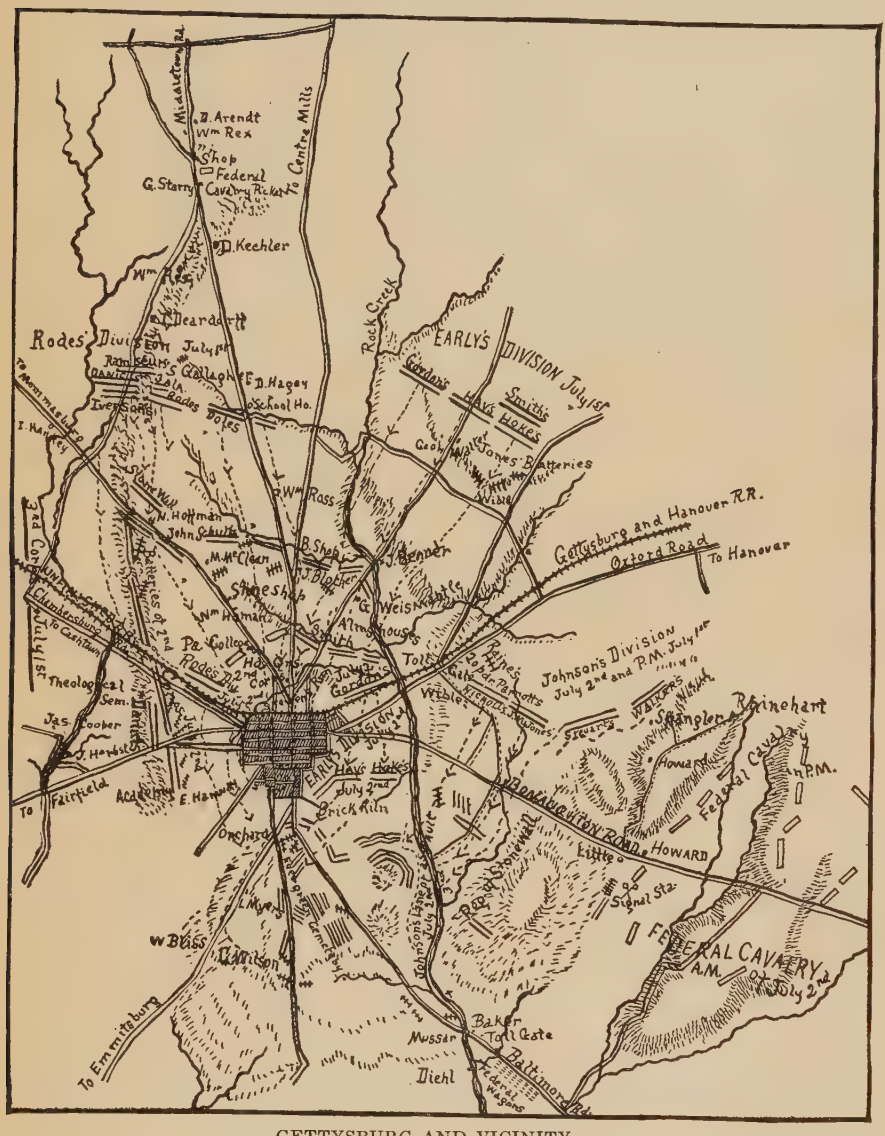
Fully impressed with the crisis that was at hand, Meade hurried forward from Taneytown to take personal direction of the momentous struggle of the morrow. It was past midnight when, accompanied by his staff, he rode over the cemetery, carefully noting every point that came under his sight. No precaution was neglected, and when the burning sun of July 2, 1863, rose, the distribution of the Union forces that were to take part in the most terrific battle of modern times was as follows:

The Eleventh corps occupied Cemetery Hill, where it had rallied,—Schurz's division across the Baltimore road, Steinwehr's on the left, and Barlow's (under Ames) in the rear of that. Wadsworth of the First corps was on the right of Ames, holding Culp's Hill; Robinson, of the same corps, was on the left of Steinwehr and across the Taneytown road, reaching to Ziegler's Grove; General John Newton commanded the corps, and Doubleday was in reserve with his division behind Schurz. The front of these two corps was covered by their combined artillery, somewhat sheltered by earthworks hastily thrown up the day before.

The Various Union Positions

To the south of Ziegler's Grove, Hancock had extended the Union left as far as the Round Tops, so as to present the strongest possible front to the Confederates on Seminary Hill. Graham's and Ward's brigades of the Third corps under Birney were distributed along the prolongation of Cemetery Hill to the left of Robinson. Geary, with

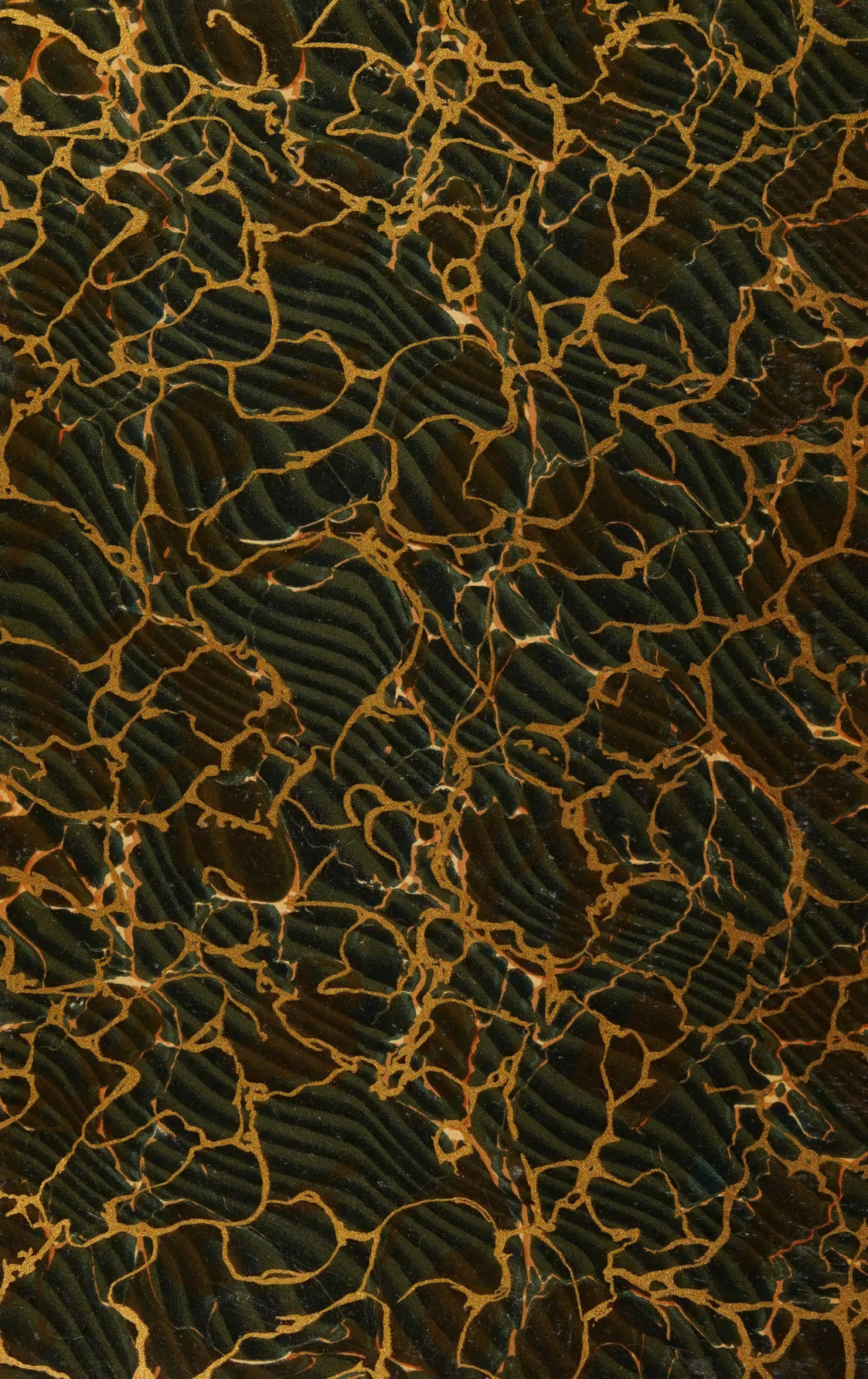
a division of the Twelfth corps, was extended beyond Birney's left to the smaller of the Round Tops, which was occupied by the Fifth Ohio and One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania. The other



GETTYSBURG AND VICINITY

division of the Twelfth corps, under Williams, was a little more than a mile in the rear of Cemetery Hill, close to where the Balti-

more highway crosses Rock creek. Humphreys, arriving on the ground just before daylight, posted his two brigades to the left and rear of Birney's line.

All the Union army had not yet arrived, but its corps were hurrying towards Gettysburg. The Second corps, a few miles out on the Taneytown road, pressed forward. De Trobriand's and Burling's brigades were approaching from Emmitsburg, and the Fifth corps was at Bonaughtown, only six miles away, still marching, though it had covered over sixty miles in three days. The Sixth corps, which was thirty miles off at Manchester the day before, had been on the road all night and was due at Gettysburg in the afternoon.

The cavalry was making ready to cover the first positions of the army. Buford, with Gamble's brigade, cleared it on the left, but Devin's brigade, driven back by Ewell, had gone to the second line on the Taneytown road. Merritt had been summoned from Mechanicstown and Kilpatrick directed to fall back from Heidlersburg to Two Taverns; Huey's brigade was left at Westminster to guard the depots and the railway line, while Gregg, with the other two brigades, moved forward to assume position on the right of the army. The reserve artillery at Taneytown was due at Gettysburg on the morning of the 2d.